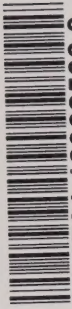


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(Volume II - Part II)

AUTHOR: T. Miljan

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## BILINGUALISM IN FINLAND

### Comparative Studies. Data Look on Finland

#### Volume II

#### Part II

### Internal Research Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Toivo Miljan

January, 1967

Edited by J. Dibben





## COMPARATIVE STUDIES

### Data Book on Finland (Volume II)

This volume is one of a series presenting the findings of the Commission's programme of research into the experiences of certain selected countries that are, like Canada, faced with problems of bilingualism and biculturalism.

To facilitate the work of the Commission, the material has been organized and paginated so as to correspond with the subject matter of the six study groups. Studies of interest to Groups A, B and C were included in volume one of the data book. The remaining material is presented as follows:

<u>For study group</u>	<u>Subject of Section</u>	<u>Pagination</u>
E	Arts, Letters and Mass Media	
	1. Arts, letters and language	E 1
	2. Mass Media	E201
F	Private Business and Voluntary Associations	
	1. Private business	F 1
	2. Voluntary associations	F101
	3. Political parties and voting behaviour	F201

Material that is not ready at the time of distribution will be published in the form of supplements as it becomes available.



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Readers are reminded of the general section, paginated in a simple numerical series, that may be found in the first volume of this report. This section provides both an historical introduction, dealing with the linguistic, cultural and social development of Finland, and a more precise demographic and statistical profile.

Supervisor: Kenneth D. McKee







Private Business

A description of the business world in Finland may be found in the Chapter on Voluntary Associations, particularly pp. F141-F145.





Toivo Miljan  
July 1966.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

IN FINLAND





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## I THE SOCIAL SETTING OF FINLAND

In any discussion of the social institutions of Finland two socio-geographic factors loom large in the background and must be taken into account. First, Finland is a border land between the East and the West and second, Finland is a Nordic<sup>1</sup> nation, with all the characteristics of the other Nordic states: racial homogeneity<sup>2</sup>, religious homogeneity<sup>3</sup>, national homogeneity<sup>4</sup>. Finland is also a "small" state like the rest of the Nordic states. The first factor means that Finland has existed for centuries as a focal point of the struggle between the East and the West, both politically and culturally, and the second factor means that Finland has, like the other Nordic countries, developed a relatively high degree of self-assertion and pride in its national traditions. The latter, the precondition to concerted national action and cooperation, is of a later date than in the other

- 
1. The term Norden (the North) is used in Swedish and the other Scandinavian languages to describe the three countries of the Scandinavian peninsula and Finland and Iceland. The term Scandinavian does not, strictly speaking, cover Finland or Iceland.
  2. The racial homogeneity is disturbed only by the Lapps in the North, and there are less than three thousands of them.
  3. Over 90% of the population belongs to the state church -- the Lutheran Church.
  4. The 7.4% of the population that makes up the Swedish-speaking minority has not, since the end of the language struggles of the nineteenth century markedly disturbed the homogeneity.





Nordic countries, due largely to the differences in the political and social developments in the past, the protective Swedish hegemony of six centuries and the century of peaceful and benevolent rule of the autonomous Duchy of Finland in the last century.

Hence it was not until the Russians attempted to force a wholesale cultural and political conversion on the Finns that the latent pride in their past, in their uniqueness, and in their "nordicism" developed into concerted national cooperation in defence of the entity of Finland. This cooperation was given further impetus by the War of Independence (civil insurrection), but particularly by the Winter War of 1939-40 and the Continuation War of 1941-1944. The external political and economic dangers that have faced Finland since the end of the War have in large measure continued to foster national cooperation, this time in the realm of international politics.

We can thus say that the small nation's pride in itself, the cooperation and national consciousness, and the cultural<sup>1</sup> consensus that marks the other Nordic states are relatively stronger in Finland than in the older, more established and less recently buffeted Nordic nations.

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1. The term culture is used here in its sociological sense.



By itself the stronger national consciousness would not distinguish Finnish society markedly from the other Nordic societies. However, there are two social factors present in Finland that are unique to her in the Nordic community. First, Finland is an officially bilingual nation, and second, there are two strong working-class movements, mutually antagonistic and with strong class-conscious attitudes and views. Of the two factors the former has affected homogeneous social development but little.<sup>1</sup> In fact, insofar as the history of cultural institutions<sup>2</sup> is concerned there has existed an intimate and largely frictionless, long-standing cooperation between the two language groups.

The working-class movement, however, has had an entirely different effect on the development of the cultural institutions. During the early decades of the century the attitude of the working class towards the social structure was one of hostility and open hatred

- 
1. The cultural institutions referred to are the church, the workers' movements, the cooperatives, the arts, and athletics.
  2. The antipathy created among the mass of Finns by the ruling Swedish-speaking upper class during the late nineteenth century struggles of the latter to retain its status and the former to rise above its political, social and economical subjugation, left a mark among Finns that made itself felt in sporadic and largely misdirected early twentieth century efforts to subdue all that was "Swedish" in Finland. Strangely enough, though, these efforts did not markedly affect the cultural cooperation of the two language groups.





of much greater intensity and scale than even elsewhere in the Nordic area. This socially disruptive force was submerged only temporarily and partly by the overbearing threat to national existence that the Russification pressures of the period (1899-1917) presented, and it flared into open violence and insurrection during the War of Independence in 1918. The civil insurrection, combined as it was with a War of Independence, and the Russian revolution, drove a wedge of distrust between the revolutionary and the evolutionary wings of the working-class movement and finally split the movement into two mutually antagonistic camps -- communist and social democratic. The antagonism between the two has continued to the present; the early hostility of the workers towards the social structure has declined much more among the social democrats than among the communists of course -- to such an extent that there appears to exist a general consensus at least as to the institutions of society. This is again most clearly indicated by reference to the times of stress: for example, despite the mutual hostility of the two working-class groups and their dissatisfaction with the "upper" social classes, all cooperated to the fullest to prevent Finland from falling prey to the Soviet Union in 1939-1940 and again



in 1941-1944. Hence it can be said that, "when the external pressure reaches a certain strength it calls forth a dormant sense of national solidarity".<sup>1</sup>

It is against this sociological background<sup>2</sup> that we will now examine the structure and behaviour of the voluntary associations in Finnish society and the cooperation of the "bilingual", or two-language, groups within these.

## II PRIMARY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

There are four categories of primary voluntary organizations in Finland: the cooperatives, of two types, consumers' and producers'; the labour market organizations, again of two types, the employers' and employees' (trade unions) federations; the athletics organizations; and the church. These four categories of organizations involve all the inhabitants of Finland, and some of them, notably the cooperatives and the labour-market organizations, by themselves cover almost all adults in Finland in their activities.

1. Heikki Waris, "Finland" in A.M. Ross (ed.), The Institutions of Advanced Societies (U. of Minnesota, 1958), p. 197.
2. Although the preceding borrows heavily from Waris, op.cit., pp. 193-197, and the Swedish edition of the essay, Samhället i Finland (Stockholm, 1961), pp.5-11, the emphasis here is on preparing a background for a "bilingualism discussion. For a more general view it would be useful to read the relevant passages in Waris.





## 1. The Cooperatives

The cooperative movement first came to Finland in the 1880s and 1890s with the simultaneous establishment of both farmers' cooperatives, organized for improving and selling produce, and consumers' cooperatives, formed to raise the purchasing power of the buyer. But it was not until 1899, when the Pellervo Society was founded under the direction of Dr. Hannes Gebhard (1864-1933) -- the father of the Finnish cooperative movement -- that modern cooperation reached Finland.

The modern concept of cooperation envisages the uniting of individuals in local communities, which in turn form central bodies embracing the whole country. In this way the cooperatives form a pyramidal structure built on democratic representative lines, but they also form a powerful economic unit that has a strong central organ which in turn exercises influence on the local cooperatives in their capacity as members of a powerful economic institution. The central principle that keeps the structure viable and strong is that both local and central organizations function exclusively in the interests of their members: individuals in the former case and local organizations in the latter case. In accordance with this



objective the cooperative movement in Finland follows the four "corner-stones" first developed by the Rochdale weaver in 1844 and adopted by the International Cooperative Alliance in 1937:

1. The cooperatives follow the "open-door" policy, i.e., any citizen who is able to make use of the services of the society may become a member, and any member may resign at will.
2. A cooperative is a democratic enterprise in the sense that each member, regardless of the number of his shares, has but one vote.
3. The surplus produced by the cooperative is divided among the members in proportion to their transaction of business.
4. The interest on membership shares is limited. The member does not invest in a cooperative expecting a return on investment but in order to utilize the services of the society.<sup>1</sup>

#### a) Organizational Grouping

Although functionally the cooperative movement is divided into two major sides of the producers' cooperatives and the consumers' cooperatives, organizationally the division is threefold. There is the so-called neutral movement, organized around the Pellervo Society and the SOK<sup>1</sup>;

- 
1. R. Heikkilä, Finland, the Land of Cooperatives (Helsinki, 1963), p. 14.
  2. Suomen Ossuskauppojen Keskuskunta (Central Cooperative Federation of Finland).





the "progressive" or "workers" movement, organized around the central federation KK<sup>1</sup>; and the Swedish language movement organized around the FSA<sup>2</sup>. The division into three "movements" is the result of historical conflicts and depends entirely on party and social politics and not in any meaningful degree on a functional division. In the beginning of the century both farmers and industrial workers formed their own cooperatives and when the central body, the SOK, was founded in 1904 both kinds of cooperatives joined it. Four years later an ideological union for consumer cooperatives, YOL<sup>3</sup>, was founded to work with SOK. In 1916, however, the urban consumers' cooperatives, dominated by organized labour, split with the farmer-dominated rural cooperatives, left the central union (SOK), and established a wholesale society and central organization of their own, the KK. The split into two competing portions of consumer cooperatives two years before the civil war reflects the deep socio-political cleavages in Finnish

- 
1. Kulutusosunskuntien Keskusliitto (Central Union of Consumers' Cooperative Societies).
  2. Finlands Svenska Andelsförbund (Federation of Swedish cooperatives in Finland).
  3. Yleinen Osuuskappojen Liitto (General Cooperative Union).



society which have no contemporary equivalents in the West. Since the split of 1916 the original central organ, SOK, has been closely associated with the farm producers' cooperatives and parallel consumer organs serving the rural areas, whereas the KK has been dominated by urban industrial labour<sup>1</sup> and has been predominantly an urban consumers' federation.

Although strongly antagonistic and originally very much oriented along lines of an urban-rural split, the two federations gradually invaded each others' territories so that today the KK is almost as deeply involved in the production end as the SOK, and the SOK is as deeply in the consumer field as the KK. This development was to be expected, for in the natural course of economic development wholesale firms tend toward controlling their raw material sources and producers tend toward control of retail outlets. This "natural" development was accentuated by the original antagonism of the two organizations and their consequent militancy in the competition for members. The latter of course spilled over into a competition for

---

1. H. Waris, "Finland" in A.M. Rose, The Institutions of Advanced Societies (Minneapolis, 1958), p. 226, points out that the latter "is regarded by many of its members as an integral part of the labour movement".



consumer outlets so that now it is quite usual to see large consumer cooperative stores and chains of stores competing directly with each other in location as well as in goods and services.

In addition to their competition at the local production and consumer level both control organizations have founded a large number of industrial factories.

However, with success achieved the two organizations have lost a great deal of their militancy and have since the war also begun cooperating on a number of joint projects, particularly at the research level.

The activities of the Pellervo Society originally encompassed both Finnish-speaking, Swedish-speaking and bilingual cooperatives. As a result of the coincidence of two unrelated factors during the period immediately surrounding Independence a split along language lines developed -- namely, the Swedish-speaking rural districts lagged behind the Finnish-speaking ones in cooperative growth and the language issue with all its attendant emotions of independent Swedish action agitated Finnish-Swedish relations between 1917 and 1919, and at the latter date brought about a withdrawal of Swedish-language cooperatives and the formation of a wholly Swedish-language





cooperative union, the Finlands Svenska Andelsförbund (Swedish Cooperative Union of Finland) or FSA. The FSA, however, did not cause a complete separation along linguistic lines, for only the wholly Swedish-speaking cooperatives left Pellervo: bilingual cooperatives remained with the parent union. Furthermore, since the break the two federation centrals, Pellervo and FSA, have continued to cooperate in mutual understanding and have not contributed to linguistic dissension.

The Finlands Svenska Andelsförbund, in comparison with Pellervo and KK, is a minor operation and is wholly confined to agricultural activities, except for one central organization of fishermen. Functionally FSA is composed of five member centrals, divided into 133 locals.<sup>1</sup> One of the centrals, with 75 locals, is a wholesale buying cooperative for agricultural implements and requisites; two (with 52 locals altogether) are cooperative dairy centrals; one, with 18 locals, is an egg marketing cooperative central<sup>2</sup>; and one, with 7 locals, is a fish marketing cooperative central. Territorially, the FSA cooperatives are located mainly in the provinces of

---

1. For detailed list of FSA functional organization see Appendix C.

2. The egg central also includes 9 consumer cooperatives serving the members of the 18 local egg marketing cooperatives.



Åland, "Osterbotten (Ostrobothnia) and Åbo-Björneborg, with a few locals in Nyland.

Although data as to the total individual membership in the FSA member societies are not available, it appears to be very small indeed when compared to the total membership of the Pellervo-based SOK, 512,000, and the KK's 515,000. Comparing the number of central unions belonging to FSA (5) with Pellervo (10) and KK (3), FSA appears to be in the middle position but this is misleading, for KK is a highly centralized organization with only one central directing three member centrals whereas both Pellervo and KK are much more decentralized. A somewhat truer picture of the comparative size and extent of activity of the three groups is given by the number of locals belonging to each. Whereas FSA has only 133 locals, and KK has 111, Pellervo has 1333 locals. In membership and economic activity the Swedish union, however, is much the smallest of the three. In addition to the consumers' cooperation activities that Pellervo and KK are engaged in, both also control sizeable amounts of the financial market activities of Finland, including credit banking and insurance of various types. Both are also active in dairying, meat and egg marketing and forest products' marketing.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Cf. Appendices A and B.





## b) Conclusions

In conclusion it must again be pointed out that SOK and KK with their total of 10,400 stores, restaurants and other consumers retail units with sales of \$884 million annually; with their credit societies with  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million depositors (35% of the population) controlling 20% of all ordinary deposits in Finland; with their control of 70% of the milk processing, which accounts for 60% of the total income from agriculture and ranks second in total industrial output; with their control of over half of the national total of meat processing; with their control of over 70% of all egg exports; with their organization of the independently (farmer) controlled forests which account for 61% of all forests and 74% of the total volume of annual growth<sup>1</sup>; and with their coverage of 24% of the nation's total in life insurance and 12% of fire insurance, do indeed form integral and powerful units of the national economy that daily touch the lives of almost all Finns. The important factor here, however, is the fact that over 1,791,600 Finns, or almost the total adult population of Finland, belong to these cooperatives and have a vote in directing their activities.

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1. Forest products account for 80-90% of total exports.



## 2. Labour Market Organizations

Labour market organizations may be divided into two groups, the Trade Unions and the Employers' Federations. Together they have played the pre-eminent rôle in Finland's industrial development and it is thanks to their relatively equal strength and cooperation that Finnish industry has not been subjected to frequent and uneven strains from either the workers or the employers but has usually developed in an orderly manner.

### 1. The Trade Unions

The union movement in Finland has been and continues to be inextricably united with what can be called the "workers' political movement". Certainly both originate from the labour and political unrest that was characteristic of the turn of the century. As the "workers' political movement" developed over time into two political parties, the Social Democratic and the Communist, the union movement continued to be held in thrall by both. Since, however, another type of union activity, the white collar (salaried) and professional unions, also exists in Finland and is largely removed from the "socialist" political struggles of the trade unions, it is perhaps more



useful to divide any discussion of unionism into two: the workers' (labour and trades) unions and the "white collar" (salaried and professional) unions. As matters stand at present there are two main central confederations of unions that reflect the split between the "workers" and the "white collars".

#### a) The Workers' Unions

The first workers' unions were established in 1884 and organized with the advice of and under the benevolent direction of the bourgeois "liberal" elite as a "liberal" step in the democratic direction during the popular politicization of the Finnish-speaking masses. By 1890 attempts were made to weld the different unions into a national confederation, but rivalries among union leaders and internal conflicts prevented the formation of such a federation until 1907 when the Suomen Ammattijärjestö (Federation of Labour Unions of Finland) was formed. Its membership initially was approximately 18,000 and it grew rapidly during the first decade of its existence, reaching 40,000 in 1916.<sup>1</sup> Under the exceptional circumstances of 1917 it temporarily more than quadrupled, reaching 170,000.

---

1. Not all unions joined the confederation, and over 10,000 unionized workers remained outside the organization.





However the same exceptional circumstances responsible for the phenomenal growth of unionism in 1917 were largely responsible in the following year for the civil war, the consequent disruption of the movement and the beginnings of internal division that have not fully been overcome to date. Unionism, as indicated earlier, was a child of politics and was brought up by socialist politics in particular. Thus, the establishment of the first working-class political newspapers during the 1890s<sup>1</sup> and the formation of the labour party in 1899,<sup>2</sup> were instrumental in preparing an organizational attitude and the necessary concept of class solidarity among the working classes. Since political socialism was Marxist oriented and since the political organization was the teacher of the economic one, unionism in Finland took on from the first a militant Marxist colour. But thanks to western (German and Swedish) oriented leadership and the political reforms of 1906, which permitted political socialism to take an active and responsible part in parliamentary politics, the original revolutionary fervour of both the party and the unions was relegated to the wings, and the centre

---

1. The first labour organ, Työmies, was founded in 1895.

2. The party was originally founded as the Labour Party of Finland but changed its name in 1903 to the Social Democratic Party of Finland. Its Marxist basis, however, was not changed.



stage was occupied by moderate, evolutionary, yet class-conscious socialists. In 1917, however, the moderate leadership of the working-class movement<sup>1</sup> began to lose its moderation and began to agitate more and more, in opposition to the more moderate and "constitutional" attitude of the bourgeois parties, for the kind of revolutionary action in which their brother workers were engaged in Russia, in the interests of freeing Finland from Russian hegemony. The loss of a majority in the elections of 1917, particularly, led to a loss of control by the moderates and a resurgence in power and popularity of the revolutionary wing, for the socialist minority (though sizeable) felt itself completely cut off from a voice in government. Dissatisfaction with parliamentary government led to revolutionary action, first through mass strikes and later, through the clash of the paramilitary organizations that both the socialists and the bourgeoisie had built up, to a civil war of the revolutionary socialists against the bourgeoisie and government. During the three months of the insurrection, the bourgeois government was firmly in power but was able to emerge victorious from the struggle only because of the brilliant leadership

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1. "Movement" includes both the political party and the Unions, for certainly from the formation of the central confederation on, the two movements were inextricably tied one to the other, as far as membership, leadership, and ideology are concerned.





of General Mannerheim, who took command of the paramilitary White Guards and enlisted the help of the Germany army. Finland had no independent army of her own. The Red Guards, on the other hand, enlisted the help of the remnants of the former Russian army in Finland and of the unarmed but militantly revolutionary industrial masses.

The result of the White victory in the Civil War was the undying hatred and enmity of the revolutionary socialist masses, who suffered so terribly at the hands of the Whites, toward the bourgeoisie. But the effects of the insurrection within the workers' movement were even more serious, and resulted in a complete breakdown in cooperation and mutual hostility between the revolutionary and the evolutionary wings. A large part of the moderate and evolutionary socialists had stayed clear of the civil insurrection, and their revolutionary brethren now accused them of breach of solidarity, faith, brotherhood, etc. The moderates, on the other hand, accused the radicals of anti-democratic action disruptive of the orderly development of the workers' lot. The charges were serious on both sides and reflected the wide gulf in attitudes and ideology that had grown between the two wings of socialism.



After the restoration of order both the Social Democratic Party and the confederation of unions under the leadership of the moderates attempted to mend the shattered confidence but were not permitted to do so by the radical revolutionaries. The struggle for power in the Social Democratic Party quickly came to a head and the radicals left the party to form their own in conjunction with the outright communists.<sup>1</sup>

On the union side of the workers' movement, the internal organizational struggle continued until 1930, by which time the communists had gained almost complete control of the central confederation. In 1929, as a result of their inability to operate within the radical atmosphere of the confederation, Social Democratic Unions began to break away and in 1930 formed a new trade union federation, the SAK or Suomen Ammathyhtistysten Keskusliitto (Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions).

In order to avoid the conflicts that had plagued the old federation the new federation decreed itself completely apolitical but permitted its member unions to

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1. The distinction between Communists and radical socialists of this period is more a matter of definition than of substance. The Finnish communist party as such was formed in Russia in 1918 by escaped insurrectionists; the Socialist Workers' Party was established in Finland in 1920 by the returning revolutionaries and the stay-at-home radicals.



affilitate with any political party provided they embraced the principles of the non-communist labour movement. Individual members of the unions, on the other hand, had no political restrictions placed on them at all. The new confederation declared socialization of the basic means of production as one of its main goals, along with support for social legislation designed to aid the wage earner and collective bargaining.

Free from communism, SAK joined the Amsterdam International and cooperated with both ILU and trade unions in the other Scandinavian countries. Its growth, despite the depression years, was rapid. Beginning with 15,000 members in 1930, it grew to 64,000 in 1937 and topped 70,000 in 1938, when 19 unions belonged to the confederation.

TABLE I

Member Unions of the SAK, 1961-62

Union	Members
Auto and Transport Workers' Union	3,723
*Food Workers' Union	9,147
Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union	4,528
Air Traffic Union	235
*Janitors' Union	3,358
Municipal Employees Union	32,084





Union	Members
Glass and Porcelain Workers' Union	2,805
Agricultural Workers' Union	9,053
Mechanics' Union	728
Metal Workers' Union	42,875
Bricklayers' Union	5,842
*Leather, Shoe and Rubber Workers' Union	6,505
Paper Workers' Union	22,402
Wood Workers' Union	8,477
*Building Workers' Union	53,958
Railwaymen's Union	15,924
Harbour Workers' Union	3,398
*Drivers' Union	237
Textile Overlookers' Union	1,063
Garment Workers' Union	10,015
Editors' Federation	48
*Workers' Federation	9,161
Government Officials' Union	1,138
*General Union of Journalists	179
TOTAL: 24 unions	246,883

\*denotes Communist-dominated Union

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 299.



The war did not disrupt the growth of SAK and unionism, and by 1945 the total membership of the federation reached just under 300,000. Two years later membership stood at 341,583, the highest ever. Since then, however, internal political squabbles with communists and personality disagreements have arisen and by 1957 membership had decreased to less than 240,000. In that year the internal dissension, centred primarily on personalities, led to the withdrawal of a number of unions and the formation in 1958 of a new trade union central, the SAJ or Suomen Ammatijärjisty (Finnish Trade Union Federation), in opposition to SAK.

The SAJ began with seven unions and by 1962 had enlisted seven more, giving a total membership of 64,872. The SAK, on the other hand, declined in both number of member unions and members from 39 and 288,803 respectively in 1956 to 24 and 246,883 respectively in 1962. Despite the fact that the SAK still contains the seven communist dominated unions,<sup>1</sup> its activities since the break with the SAJ unions have settled down to more amenable working relations, for the Social Democratic leadership is firmly in control. The SAJ as well appears to be operating within the normal framework of union activity. What,

---

1. Their combined membership exceeded 80,000 in 1962.





however, makes relations between the two centrals difficult is the existence of a new political party, the Social Democratic Opposition,<sup>1</sup> whose leadership is intermixed with that of the SAJ and which is dependent on and in turn supports the SAJ in the same manner as the Social Democratic party is inextricably involved with SAK.

- 
1. Since personality differences more than political views continue to dominate the Social Democratic - Opposition rivalry, it is possible that as the present leadership is gradually replaced the Opposition may rejoin the main party. However, it must not be forgotten that some of the causes of these differences reach back far, to the Civil War crisis even, as well as to the immediate post-World War II tensions, and continue to fester and foster new "old personality" differences with new "personalities" taking the place of those retiring.



TABLE IIMembers of the SAJ, 1961-62

Unions	Members
Transport Workers' Union	6,992
Jewellers' Union	873
Union of Functionaries of Voluntary Organizations	50
Servicemen's Union	3,298
Textile and Knitting Workers' Union	6,895
Seamen's Union	7,425
Leather and Rubber Workers' Union	3,679
Paper Machinists' Union	208
Wood Finishing Workers' Union	13,990
Railroadmen's Union	5,298
Social Democratic Journalists' Union	143
Steel, Mine and Shop Workers' Union	5,618
Clothing Workers' Union	3,612
General and Special Occupations' Union	6,791
TOTALS: 14 unions	64,872

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 300.



As for relations between the two language groups among the members of the labour movement, they have been cordial almost from inception, although the strong Finnization ethos of the twenties, along with the bitter memories of the bourgeois "White" suppression<sup>1</sup> of the radicals' revolt, undoubtedly curtailed the cordiality somewhat. Since the beginning of the war, however, the workers' movement, in both its political party as well as its union branches, has provided what may perhaps be called a "model" of language relations. Both SAK and SAJ are bilingual confederations by their constitutions and have bilingual unions among their membership.<sup>2</sup> Also, both the Social Democratic Party and the SKDL or People's Democratic Party Federation (Communists) are constitutionally bilingual and the former even has a Swedish-language subdivision in the party organization.

Nevertheless, Swedish-speaking workers have in the past been far more reluctant to join unions, and Finnish-dominated unions at that, than their Finnish-speaking confreres. One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly

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1. The leadership of the bourgeois government and the White Guard, but particularly the latter, was heavily Swedish.
  2. No data as to the bilingual unions are yet available.





that Finnish speakers have always dominated union activity. Furthermore the Finnish language is the main language (and often the only language) used by both language groups in common union activities. Indeed as C.E. Knoellinger puts it:

. . . when modern nationalism emerged in Finland, it bore an anti-Swedish stamp. Such nationalism gained some support from organized labour, especially when it was still under the tutelage of middle-class bourgeois leaders. Under the circumstances the Swedo-Finn workers did not always feel at home in the labour organizations; a feeling of social superiority was probably also involved. Sometimes they founded organizations<sup>1</sup> of their own, but in a great many localities or places of work their limited numbers proved an obstacle to taking such steps.<sup>2</sup>

The references in the above excerpt relate directly to initial stages of the growth of labour activity in Finland, that is, to the period between 1890 and 1920.<sup>3</sup> Though long ago, the circumstances of that period still make themselves felt, however indirectly.

. . . some remnants of the past remain and there is a certain amount of social cleavage along language lines. Since organized labour is still dominated by Finnish-speaking workers, this may have some bearing also upon present attitudes of those whose mother tongue is Swedish.<sup>4</sup>

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1. No Swedish-speaking union federation exists.
  2. C.E. Knoellinger, Labor in Finland (Harvard U.P., Cambridge, 1960), p. 14.
  3. For a fuller account of this period see J.H. Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland (New York, 1931), pp.169-187.
  4. Knoellinger, op.cit., p. 15.



b) The "White Collar" Unions

The first white-collar labour unions originated in the last century concurrently with the workers' unions. These organizations, however, were not labour organizations in the modern sense; rather, they were professional associations, comparable to the Canadian Association of University Teachers at the present stage, with as little influence and power in representing their members' economic interests. Furthermore these were primarily organizations of public servants who enjoyed a relatively good economic position until World War I. Only with the post-war inflation did they begin to suffer and to be forced to engage in union-type activity to defend their economic position. Despite the founding of the white collar union federation in 1922, their success was meagre, and the salaried employee movement suffered a set-back that prevented growth for over two decades.

Since the Second World War, however, the movement has made good headway as the following table shows:





TABLE IIITVK (formerly UTK) Membership1945-1962

Year	No. of Unions	No. of members
1945	17	25,764
1950	31	69,210
1955	23	67,173
1960	26	110,872
1962	26	119,305
1963	29	134,755

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963,  
Table 301.

Of the total union membership in the TVK, or Toimihenkilö- ja Virkamiesjärjestön Keskusliito (Confederation of Salaried Employees)<sup>1</sup> in 1963, three unions divided into 38 locals and with a combined membership of 3,602, were unilingual Swedish; 13 unions, divided

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1. Its full title is bilingual TVK - TOC, or Toimihenkilö- ja Virkamiesjärjestöjen Keskusliito - Tjänstemanna- organisationernas Centralförbund.

# THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON FROM 1630 TO 1800

Year	Event	Location
1630	First settlement	North End
1631	First church	North End
1632	First school	North End
1633	First hospital	North End
1634	First prison	North End
1635	First court	North End
1636	First market	North End
1637	First theatre	North End
1638	First library	North End
1639	First university	North End
1640	First college	North End
1641	First academy	North End
1642	First seminary	North End
1643	First orphanage	North End
1644	First almshouse	North End
1645	First workhouse	North End
1646	First hospital	North End
1647	First prison	North End
1648	First court	North End
1649	First market	North End
1650	First theatre	North End
1651	First library	North End
1652	First university	North End
1653	First college	North End
1654	First academy	North End
1655	First seminary	North End
1656	First orphanage	North End
1657	First almshouse	North End
1658	First workhouse	North End
1659	First hospital	North End
1660	First prison	North End
1661	First court	North End
1662	First market	North End
1663	First theatre	North End
1664	First library	North End
1665	First university	North End
1666	First college	North End
1667	First academy	North End
1668	First seminary	North End
1669	First orphanage	North End
1670	First almshouse	North End
1671	First workhouse	North End
1672	First hospital	North End
1673	First prison	North End
1674	First court	North End
1675	First market	North End
1676	First theatre	North End
1677	First library	North End
1678	First university	North End
1679	First college	North End
1680	First academy	North End
1681	First seminary	North End
1682	First orphanage	North End
1683	First almshouse	North End
1684	First workhouse	North End
1685	First hospital	North End
1686	First prison	North End
1687	First court	North End
1688	First market	North End
1689	First theatre	North End
1690	First library	North End
1691	First university	North End
1692	First college	North End
1693	First academy	North End
1694	First seminary	North End
1695	First orphanage	North End
1696	First almshouse	North End
1697	First workhouse	North End
1698	First hospital	North End
1699	First prison	North End
1700	First court	North End

The history of the city of Boston from 1630 to 1800 is a story of growth and development. The city was founded in 1630 by a group of Puritan settlers who sought a place where they could practice their religion freely. Over the years, the city grew from a small settlement to a major center of commerce and industry. The city's economy was based on trade, and it became a major port for the New England colonies. The city's population grew rapidly, and it became one of the most densely populated cities in the world. The city's government was based on a system of town meetings, and it was one of the first cities in the world to have a written constitution. The city's culture was based on Puritanism, and it was one of the most religious cities in the world. The city's architecture was based on the New England style, and it was one of the most beautiful cities in the world. The city's history is a story of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity.

into 309 locals and with a combined membership of 68,880, were bilingual. Thus it can be seen that over half the membership of the TVK belongs to bilingual member unions.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE IV

Members of TVK (Confederation of  
Salaried Employees) on January 1, 1963

Unions	No. of Locals	No. of Members
Driving Instructors' Union	6	341
S Swedish Public School Teachers' Federation in Finland	18	1,892
S Swedish Foresters' Federation of Finland	2	226
S Commercial and Industrial Officials' Federation	18	2,284
B Federation of Commercial School Teachers	1	337
B Municipal Officials' Federation	93	12,986
Agricultural Officials' Union	3	176
B Travel Agents' Federation	1	111
Lumbering and Logging Foremen's Union	60	2,413
Forestry Technologists' Central Union	49	3,174
Shop Managers' Union	13	3,137

1. For further data on the TVK, see Table IV. Data as to the language breakdown of membership of the bilingual unions are not yet available.



Unions		No. of Locals	No. of Members
	Nurses' Union	17	12,063
B	Vocational School Teachers' Federation of Finland	44	1,250
B	Pharmacists' Fed. of Finland	15	3,762
	Finnish Public School Teachers' Union	452	24,071
B	Finland's Midwives' Federation	16	2,798
B	Kindergarten Teachers' Fed. of Finland	13	962
	Finnish Businessmen's Union	42	4,071
B	Physiotherapists' Fed. of Finland	1	390
B	Bankers' Federation of Finland	28	6,474
	Finland's Woodmen's Union	20	977
B	Finland's Nursing Sisters' Federation	6	2,566
B	Finland's Journalists' Federation	14	950
	Finland's Industrial Officials' Union	50	6,523
	Composers' Copyright Bureau "Teosto"	1	46
B	Insurance Officials' Central Organization	3	2,106
	Union of Officials of Crown Corporations	6	2,376
	State Supervisors' and Officials' Union	19	2,105
B	Civil Servants' Association	74	34,188
TOTAL: 29 unions		1,085	134,755

S - denotes wholly Swedish-speaking union;

B - denotes bilingual union; all other unions are Finnish-speaking only.

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 301.





Not all salaried employee unions belong to TVK. Indeed approximately 35,000 "white collar" workers are members of the SAK group of unions, and SAK would, of course, like to enlist all the TVK unions into its own ranks. The barrier to this in the past has been, and continues to be in the present, SAK's socialist ideology, which, naturally, disagrees with the bourgeois views of the majority of the white collar groups.

c) Unions outside the Central Federations

While most of the workers' unions belong to either SAK or SAJ, a sizeable number of white collar unions remain outside both SAK, SAJ, and TVK. A group of these, the professional associations of university graduates, formed in 1950 a rival central federation of their own. AKUA, or Akateeminen Uhteistyöveltuuskunta (Academic Cooperative Confederation), is composed of unions of lawyers, doctors, dentists, and the like, divided into 28 academic "disciplines". Their total membership in 1958 exceeded 22,000.

Another group of white-collar workers, industrial technicians, formed a federation, the STTK, of their own as early as 1946.<sup>1</sup>

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1. No data are available as to language relations in either AKUA or STTK.



## 2. The Employers' Federations

### a) The Organizations

The development of employers' federations in many respects corresponds to and reflects the growth of the trade union movement. The parallelism is evident as early as the beginnings of the formation of the first small trade unions at the end of the last century. As the unions grew and became national in coverage at the turn of the century, so also the employers' locals felt the need to expand and form national organizations within different branches of industry. A central organization, including all the then existing employers' associations was formed in 1907, the same year that the workers established their Federation of Labour.

However, despite the parallelism indicated, the development of employers' organizations lagged behind the workers' organizations and left much to be desired: for example, not until World War I was an employers' federation organized in the major industry at the time, the saw-mill industry; and not until the labour movement threatened to swamp all economic activity in the revolutionary year 1917 did the employers begin to realize the





need for concerted action. The central organization was then reorganized and was given increased powers over its affiliates. The STK-AFC, Suomentyöantajan Keskusliitto - Arbetsgivarnas i Finland Centralförbund (Finnish Employers' Confederation), became active in the spring of 1918 and has since steadily increased in size, power and influence, except for a brief period in the early 1930s when a social reaction to the Lapua movement and the paralysis of the trade unions wiped out most of the gains that the employers' organization had made since 1918. The resurgence of the trade union movement in the late 1930s, however, also rejuvenated the employers' federation movement, and since then they, like the trade unions, have enjoyed unimpeded growth.

In 1962 STK-AFC embraced 27 employers' associations having a total of 2,012 affiliated enterprises and employing 284,592 workers (see Table V). Some of these employers' associations were in turn central organizations for a number of particular industry-based, subordinate employers' organizations.



TABLE V

Associations Belonging to the STK-AFC  
(Finnish Employers' Confederation), 1962

Associations	No. of Members	No. of Workers
Automotive Industry Employers' Assoc.	262	10,146
Shoe Industry Empl. Assoc.	60	7,078
Masonry Industry Empl. Assoc.	58	597
B Office Machinery Industry Assoc.	76	436
Luggage Industry Union	21	225
B Mercantile Empl. Assoc.	41	3,064
Leather Industry Empl. Assoc.	16	2,340
B Brewery and Soft Drink Industry Empl. Assoc.	20	2,234
B Plumbing Industry Empl. Union	59	4,258
B Cabinet Industry Union	59	4,564
B Coast and Inland Water Transport Empl. Assoc.	38	1,646
B Cement Industry Empl. Assoc.	61	651
Finnish Asphalt Industry Empl. Union	10	764
B Electrical Industry Empl. Assoc. of Finland	18	311
B Finnish Textile Industry Empl. Assoc.	46	22,232
B Finnish Glass Industry Empl. Assoc.	6	2,544



(TABLE V) Cont'd.

Associations	No. of Members	No. of Workers
Glazing and Grinding Union	44	222
B Stevedores in Finland Empl. Assoc.	75	5,594
B Finland's Metal Industry Empl. Assoc.	97	43,753
B Finland's Wood Finishing Industry Empl. Assoc.	62	69,318
B Finland's Building Materials Industry Empl. Assoc.	22	5,591
B Finland's Building Industry Assoc.	431	32,699
B General Employers Group of Finland	160	46,180
B Electrical Industry Employers' Assoc.	109	3,439
B Brick Industry Empl. Assoc.	40	1,555
Clothing Industry Union	67	9,032
B Power Industry Empl. Assoc.	54	4,119
TOTAL: 27 unions	2,012	284,592

B - denotes bilingual associations

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 302.





Although the number of workers in the member enterprises corresponded approximately to the number of workers in the SAK (see Table I) this was merely coincidental, since many workers, employed by enterprises belonging to STK-AFC, were still unorganized, and the members of SAK to a great extent were employed in enterprises outside the field covered by STK-AFC. As Table V shows, STK-AFC is mainly composed of the manufacturing industry -- particularly the large concerns -- and forestry and shipping, with only a smattering of enterprises of a handicraft character. As a rule the latter are small concerns and smaller industrialists do not belong to the central federation. In fact, only about a quarter of all industrial establishments -- of which in 1961 there were 7,562, employing 345,413 workers<sup>1</sup> -- belong to STK-AFC. The comparison is, however, only an approximation and cannot be used to measure the extent of membership in the STK-AFC, since other enterprises, not classed as industrial, also belong to it.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 109.

2. An unpublished special investigation, made by the economic research bureau maintained by STK-AFC and certain other interests, shows that 27% of the establishments reported in the official industrial statistics of 1947 belonged to STK-AFC. That these establishments were rather large can be seen from the fact that they employed 71% of the total number of industrial workers. See Knoellinger, op.cit., p. 154.



Although STK-AFC is the largest central organization of employers, it is not the only one. There are, in addition, two others of respectable size, the Confederation of Commercial Employers (LK-AC) and the Agricultural Employers' Association. The former, founded in 1945, comprised in 1962 five member associations of commercial employers representing 1,601 enterprises employing 100,740 workers. The Confederation, despite its name, is not strictly limited to firms of a commercial character but includes establishments that apart from their main business of distribution also maintain industrial concerns: thus, for example, part of the food processing industry is included in the Confederation. Also affiliated are all the commercial banks, a large number of insurance companies, hotels and restaurants, the major part of road transport firms, the radio corporation, the largest travel agencies and the largest airline. The membership, as in STK-AFC, is largely confined to large and medium-sized firms. "This is apparently because the trade unions so far have not been as active in the smaller enterprises as in the larger, and also because the Commercial Employers' Association has not itself carried out a wider membership drive."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Knoellinger, op.cit., p. 155. Note, however, that the reference is to 1955, when the total membership of the Confederation was less than 1,300 as compared to 1,601 in 1962.



TABLE VI

Members of the LK - AC (Confederation  
of Commerce Employers), 1962

Organizations	No. of Member Companies	No. of Workers Employed
Finland's Iron and Machine Firms' Association	62	7,181
Driving Schools' Associations	90	334
Neutral Commercial Firms' Associations	341	26,696
Insurance Companies' Assoc.	41	3,110
Employers' General Central Association Group (divided into 15 branches)	1,067	63,419
TOTAL: 5 unions	1,601	100,740

Note that all associations are bilingual.

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 302.

The Agricultural Employers' Association is indeed tiny when compared to STK-AFC and LK-AC, containing as it does only a few thousand farmer members, and these mainly in the southern part of the country. It must nevertheless be considered representative since it is





farmers in this particular area who employ labourers to a larger extent than those in other areas, and also because the policies of the association have a standardizing influence over the whole field of agricultural labour.<sup>1</sup>

b) The Locus of Power in the STK-AFC<sup>2</sup>

As in all central associations, so too in the STK-AFC did the question of division of power between the central organization, the member associations and the individual members arise early in its existence. The original central organization was a loose association formed primarily to study the problems that employers had in common. The First World War brought about a drastic change, partly as a result of the emergency conditions and the militancy of the workers' unions. The reorganized central employers' organization, STK-AFC, now had the power to decide on lockouts and in other matters had a wide scope to make decisions binding on its member organizations. Similarly the movement to centralism was evident among the subordinate member associations.

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1. Unfortunately more information about this organization is not available. It would be interesting to know the language composition of the employers as well as the employees, since the area in which the organization operates is partly Swedish-speaking and bilingual.
  2. This section is to a large extent based on the fuller description in Knoellinger, op.cit., pp. 160-163.



By 1928 all the member associations had taken over the right to decide on all wage questions from the individual employers in their associations. But these centralized powers of the STK-AFC and its member associations nevertheless did not mean that these powers were fully exercised. Indeed it was not until after the general strike of 1956 that opinion among industrialists swung sufficiently behind the concept of concerted action that the largely moribund centralized powers were activated through reorganization and further concentration of power.

Full centralization, however, has as yet not been brought about, for the member associations have the right to make collective bargaining agreements for their membership; the STK-AFC does not have the right to conclude such agreements on behalf of member associations, except at the express request of two or more of these associations. Yet the member associations also do not have a completely free hand in such negotiations but must keep the central organization informed of the course of negotiations and may not include stipulations in agreements which the central body does not consider permissible. The declaration of lockouts is also dependent on the permission of STK-AFC, but again the central body's powers for



independent action in this area are limited, for only if a specified majority is obtained within the competent body may the STK-AFC itself declare a lockout directly concerning two or more member associations. To make its centralized powers effective the STK-AFC has the right to claim compensation from members for breaches of rules according to damage caused to the authority of the central body.

Although the above brief description of division of powers between STK-AFC and its members may give the impression of wide-scale concerted action among employers, in fact this is not so for the simple reason that many of these arrangements were outdated even before they were written into the constitutions of the bodies concerned. For example, no important lockout has taken place since 1927. Again, the powers of coercion of the central bodies are severally limited and the damage claim clause of the STK-AFC is largely illusory since it is practically inoperable.





Indeed it seems as if the employers' organizations in recent years have been more interested in matters but briefly mentioned in their constitutions, such as social welfare, industrial training, industrial psychology and improved personnel handling procedures, that is, in matters of cooperation rather than concerted action. And indeed the latter examples of activity, though imported largely from the United States, show perhaps more clearly than their previous half-heartedness in concerted action the strength of paternalism present even today -- a type of paternalism that disappeared in North America long ago, but which is even more clearly exhibited in Japan. This is particularly evident in such areas as factory-sponsored sports activities and factory housing. It may be that because the industrialists are in a "hereditary" strong position and because the workers' movement bears the deep scars of divisions of the Civil War and is still politically divided within itself, the employers' federations neither are able nor need to exercise as strong controls over their members as those of the other Scandinavian countries.



The question now arises: what rôle have the Swedish employers played in the development of these central organizations and what rôle did they play in 1962? Although the answer to the latter question depends on the answer to the former, an indication of their relative strength is nevertheless found in Tables XVI and XVIa in the Statistical Chapter in Vol. I of this study. There it can be seen that in the census of 1960 the Swedish-speaking element among all employers formed 8.8% (9.0% in 1950) and among the managerial class their proportion was 21.9% (21.1% in 1950). If we take these percentages as rough bench-marks merely and assume that the percentage of Swedish-speaking members in the central employers' associations is not less than the rough bench-marks indicate, then indeed their numerical and proportionate strengths are not unduly impressive. Table V and VI above, however, indicate the possibility that their proportionate strengths in the STK-AFC and LK-AC are greater than the bench-marks would indicate, for of 27 member associations of the former central, 19 are listed as bilingual and of the 5 member associations of the latter central all are bilingual. Of course, in the absence of further reliable data (e.g., languages of



members of these bilingual associations, language usage in the plants of members, in the bilingual associations, and in the central associations) it is impossible to determine the meaning of "bilingualism" in this context or to measure the extent of Swedish "influence" in the employers' associations and their centrals.

It would nevertheless seem (though unsupported by reliable data) that a claim, based on our general knowledge of the social, political and economic structure in Finland during the past hundred years,<sup>1</sup> and on the subjective writings of pro-Swedish writers, that the influence of the Swedish industrialists far exceeds their numerical proportion, even today. As recently as fifty years ago the Swedish-speaking employers formed the majority, but this majority was rapidly whittled away and by the 1930s the Swedo-Finn employers were in a decided minority. Insofar as language usage is concerned, it appears that the general Swedo-Finn adaptation to bilingualism that has taken place during the past fifty years has gone furthest in business, so that employers and managers of Swedish-owned firms tend to operate solely on economic grounds and refuse to permit language loyalty to intrude on business.

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1. Cf. Vol. I of the study, chapter on History, sections III-IV.





At the same time, however, one cannot help wondering, whether it was not the very business acumen of the Swedish employers coupled with a traditional yet unobtrusive patronage of employees that prevented an economic revolution that would have deprived the Swedes of their business holdings. Instead of opposing Finnization, the Swedish employers, though they may not have privately welcomed it, at least publicly hailed it as a sign of the political maturity of the Finnish nation -- a nation not divided into two self-sufficient linguistic communities, but united in the super-patriotism of Svinhufvud and Mannerheim -- and then proceeded quickly and efficiently to accommodate the demand for Finnization at all levels: ownership, by welcoming new and old Finnish-owned firms into their associations and by cooperating fully with them in all business matters;<sup>1</sup> at the managerial level, by welcoming a certain number of Finnish-speaking recruits and by adopting bilingualism; at the employee level, mainly by giving the stamp of the traditional Swedo-Finn way of doing business to all Finnish business through the previously mentioned methods and thus enabling the business community to take advantage of the dissensions in the working men's movement, as a whole : and not as a linguistically divided community.

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1. Indeed this appears to be the reason why the Finnish-speaking employers and managerial classes never supported the anti-Swede movement.



The results are, of course, that the Finnish business world today is united and continues to practise patronage -- albeit in much subtler forms than in the past -- despite the fact that the neighbouring Scandinavian countries have long since forced their business communities to retreat and have placed the trade unions and government on an equal footing with business in economic and socio-economic matters.

### 3. Sports and Athletic Organizations

Finland is a country of active athletes and sportsmen so it is not surprising that sports organizations should rank as major voluntary associations along with the cooperatives and the labour market organizations. Indeed insofar as we exclude voluntary organizations tied in with the routine side of living and making a living, the sports organizations rank first in importance and overshadow all others, including the church.

But even here, as in almost all things Finnish, politics intrudes and plays a major role. Like the consumers' cooperatives, the sports organizations are also divided into two major national, politically-oriented unions, TUL, the "workingmen's" sports central and SVUL, the non-labour, or "bourgeois", central organization.



In addition there is the Swedish Central Sports Federation and yet another workers' central sports organization, the Central Union of Workers' Sports Associations -- the former language-based, but the latter politically oriented. As can be seen in Table VII the four central organizations in 1962 had a combined total of 3,276 member clubs or approximately 63% of the total of all sports clubs in Finland. The total membership of these clubs stood at 1,004,353 or about 54% of the total of sports club members. However, since there is a good deal of overlapping in membership of central organizations and specialized sports organizations, most members of the latter belonging as well to a club within a central organization, the percentage of membership in the central organizations is probably much higher than the figures in Table VII indicate.





TABLE VIISports Organizations, 1962

Organizations		No. of Member Clubs	No. of Members
B	Finnish Gymnastic and Sports Federation (SVUL-FGSF)	1,704	596,737
B	Workers' Sports Federation (TUL-AI)	1,150	298,380
S	Swedish Central Sports Federation (CIP)	255	62,514
B	Finnish Football Federation	584	178,135
	Popular Sports Association	13	472,340
B	Shooting Association	112	61,000
B	Aviation Association	120	11,304
B	Canoeing Association	40	4,200
B	Finnish Bowling Association	373	5,978
B	Finnish Volley Ball Assoc.	327	49,838
B	Motoring Association	68	10,333
	Modern Pentathlon Assoc.	13	37,000
B	Finnish Yachting Association	42	15,400
B	Finnish Table Tennis Assoc.	102	13,000
B	Finnish Tennis Association	90	7,146
	Central Union of Workers' Sports Associations (TUK)	167	46,722
TOTAL: 16 organizations		5,160	1,870,027

B - denotes bilingual associations

S - denotes Swedish-language associations



Interest in competitive athletics and sports first arose in Finland during the early years of this century and was given a strong boost both by the nearness of the Stockholm Olympics in 1912 and the surprising success of Finnish athletes in the Games. As a consequence athletic organizations sprang up all over the country. The possibilities of cooperation and unification of efforts in this field were, however, quickly frustrated by the civil war which introduced politics into all spheres of Finnish life, including sports. Though efforts have been made periodically since then to reunite the organizations or to establish a new superorganization, which would coordinate athletic activities and make participation in international events easier, all to date have failed. "Growth in size on both sides and the traditions, prestige and symbols of both<sup>1</sup> organizations seem to stand in the way of an amalgamation. There have been similar rifts in certain other countries, as in Norway, but nowhere else has such a division lasted."<sup>2</sup>

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1. The reference is to the main TUL-SVUL split.

2. Waris, op.cit., p. 229.



Though many of the old wounds and hatreds separating the two major organizations have been cured by time and a fair degree of cooperation, insofar as joint participation in international sports events is concerned, exists, nevertheless the pattern of class dichotomy, the overbearing legacy of the civil war, persists and keeps them apart.

Linguistically, the two main central associations are bilingual and include both unilingual Finnish clubs and bilingual Swedish clubs. The Swedish Central Sports Federation is, of course, unilingual Swedish being composed of unilingual clubs only.<sup>1</sup> The breakaway labour sports

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1. It may perhaps be suggested that many Swedish-speakers prefer to belong to bilingual organizations, and thus the relatively small number of members of the Swedish central does not reflect a Swedish disinterest in sports. It may further be surmised that the unilingual Swedish clubs are largely rural and in areas where the concentration of Swedes is overwhelmingly high, such as Åland for example. In bilingual areas most sports organizations appear to be bilingual and most Swedish youths join these, for after all the establishment of sports clubs and the upkeep of the necessary corollary services, such as club-houses and facilities, are expensive, and Swedo-Finn "nationalist" feeling is not high enough in urban bilingual areas to sustain the upkeep of competing unilingual Swedish facilities. Of course the resulting bilingualism in these organizations in most cases means Finnish language dominance just as in other fields of activity in Finland. Only in the few Swedish-dominated bilingual areas are the bilingual clubs Swedish-language dominated.





organization, TUK, is the smallest of the four centrals and is also unilingual, but unilingual Finnish. Of the 12 specialized organizations all<sup>1</sup> but two are bilingual<sup>2</sup>.

#### 4. The Church

The Church, the only one of the voluntary institutions of the main pan-Finlandic type not appreciably affected by politics, comes last in importance insofar as overall active participation in voluntary associations is concerned, but it is by no means the least in influence. Indeed by listed membership it is the largest and most widely supported of all voluntary institutions, with only 2.8% of the total population in the secular register and no less than 95.2% belonging to the Lutheran Church -- the "state" church -- with the remaining 2.0% belonging to various other denominations.<sup>3</sup>

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1. It would be interesting to know the number of Swedish unilingual clubs (if any), and bilingual clubs in these associations, as well as the total number of Swedish speakers and bilinguals, in order to determine the rôle that language plays in sports organization. Unfortunately, however, such data are not available.
  2. One of the two, the Popular Sports Association does not specialize in any single sport but is rather of the community-hall type. It is included among the specialized sports organizations since it is not a central organization.
  3. Compare these figures (given in Waris, op.cit., p. 231) with Gordon's figures in Vol. I, chapter on Statistics in the Study on p. 229: where he gives figures for 1962 as 92.4% Lutheran Church, 5.4% on civil register and 2.2% on other "free" churches.



These figures, but particularly the minuscule 2.8% (120,000, including children) civil register figure (or even the 5.4% figure referred to in the previous footnote) are impressive testimony to the holding power of the Church and tradition, for, though the Lutheran Church is the "official" state church, there has been complete freedom of religion and conscience since 1922. Even the vast majority of the communists and their sympathizers prefer to remain within the established church, formally at least, and even to pay taxes to support it. Most children are baptized and entered in the Church register and at the age of fifteen go to church confirmation school. In addition all have religious instruction in primary and secondary school. Only one marriage in three is solemnized by a secular official, the other two by the Church. Thus it can be seen that formal membership in the Church is upheld by strong traditions and folkways -- and taxes.

Industrialization and urbanization have, of course, challenged the Church and the accompanying secularization continues to make strong inroads in the urban areas as in other Protestant countries. Yet personal religion still plays a larger role in Finland than in many other countries. This fact can be attributed to the four



streams of religious revivalism started over a hundred years ago -- all within the established Church -- of an evangelical Free Church character that continue, especially in the rural areas, to exert a strong and personalizing influence on religious life in the country and that have thus retarded advancing secularization.

Linguistically, the Lutheran Church is very well integrated with little sign of separatism among the Swedish-language congregations. The latter have their own episcopal diocese, the Borgå<sup>o</sup> bishopric, formed on December 1, 1923<sup>1</sup>, which came about largely as a result of the alienation of the Swedo-Finns during the period of the strong atmosphere of Finnization in the early part of the century. This feeling of alienation has by now largely disappeared and organizationally the Swedish bishopric is to a large extent a bilingual one with both purely Swedish and bilingual congregations, and is fully integrated into

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1. All Swedish congregations in areas where the Swedish population exceeded 50% of total population were included in the diocese. In 1946 the number of congregations was 91 and almost the whole of the Swedish population belonged to these congregations.





the Church hierarchy. Even the Synod<sup>1</sup>, the highest forum of the Church, composed of a lay majority, meeting every five years, is bilingual with respect to the Swedish diocese and other bilingual congregations. In addition to the above-mentioned arrangements certain statutes<sup>2</sup> further guarantee linguistic church rights to Swedish-speaking minorities in congregations<sup>3</sup>.

#### TABLE VIII

##### The Lutheran Church in Finland on January 1, 1963

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Dioceses	8
Congregations	574
of which rural	482
of which urban	92
Members	4,479,638

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Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963.  
Table 5.

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1. The Synodical system was introduced in 1869 along with other democratizing reforms in anticipation of the popularist demands of the time. It operates today on the same but somewhat modified basis; that no great changes have been necessary testifies to the modernism of the Church of the 19th century.
  2. The Lutheran Church is governed by Statutes of Parliament, as is the Orthodox Church. Only the so-called "Free Congregations" escape State legal control.
  3. For example when there is a linguistic minority of at least 50 in a congregation then that congregation becomes officially bilingual with attendant language rights for the minority. Statute 11.3, 1949/183; see also Statute 6.12.1864.



The laws governing the Orthodox Church in language matters differ considerably from those governing the Lutheran Church. Whereas the latter is officially bilingual, the former is officially unilingual Finnish and its only Swedish language requirements are that the secretary of the Church administration understands Swedish and that the ministers of congregations in Helsinki, Turku and Vaasa be able to speak "satisfactory" Swedish. Of course since there are no Swedish Orthodox congregations and since the Orthodox Church is largely a Russian heritage, there need be no further Swedish language requirements. However, the law -- Decree 3.2.1956/83, replacing the Decree 3.3.1923/80 -- requires the official language of the Orthodox Church to be Finnish and the church services to be conducted in Finnish.<sup>1</sup> It appears that these language requirements are written into the law with the express intention of forcing Finnization on the members of the Orthodox Church, most of whom are refugees from Karelia and were used to strong Russian influences in their home churches.

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1. An exception to the latter requirements permits another language to be used if a "substantial" number of the congregation have that language as their mother-tongue. See Art. 3, paragraph 2 and 3 of the Decree.



TABLE IXThe Greek Orthodox Church in Finland on January 1, 1963

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Congregations	24
Cloisters	4
Members	71,130

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Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland,  
1963, Table 6.

With regard to the "Free churches" in Finland, nearly all of these with three exceptions are non-Swedish. According to Table X only two, the Adventist Church and the Methodist Church, have Swedish-language congregations -- the former has one and the latter 14 -- in addition to which there is a wholly Swedish denomination, the Swedish Lutheran (Sweden) Church in Helsinki. The latter is affiliated with the Lutheran Church in Sweden and is limited to only one congregation of 2,498 members.





TABLE X

Registered Congregations in Finland, other than  
Lutheran or Greek Orthodox, on January 1, 1963

Denominations	Congre- gations	Members
Free Church in Finland	20	7,862
Jehovah's Witnesses	14	7,867
Adventists	3	4,849
of which Finnish	(2)	(4,530)
of which Swedish	(1)	(319)
Swedish Lutheran (Sweden)	1	2,498
Roman Catholic Church	6	2,412
Methodists	26	2,002
of which Finnish	(12)	(1,195)
of which Swedish	(14)	(807)
Baptists	6	2,033
Jesus Christ Church	15	1,929
Greek Catholic (private)	2	1,596
Jewish	3	1,706
Finnish Free Evangelical- Lutheran	11	1,053
Islam	2	937
English Church	1	230
"Free Catholic"	2	121
Friends of Truth	1	21
Totals: Denominations - 15	113	37,116

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963. Table 7.



To return to the most important church, the Lutheran, Swedo-Finns are here very well organized in both theological as well as "extra-curricular" activities. For the latter, a central organization composed of both ministers and leading church laymen, the Federation for Swedish Congregational Activity in Finland (Förbundet för svenskt församlingsarbete i Finland) was organized as early as 1918 and has continued to act as the leading organ of all aspects of cooperation among the Swedish congregations. A large number of social activities and organizations are carried on and nurtured under its aegis, particularly in the area of youth work.<sup>1</sup> In addition, purely theological services are rendered by the so-called "Strengthened Bishopsmeeting" and the Theological Faculty of Åbo Academy. In all these areas, however, it must be remembered that the Finnish-speaking part of the Church is quite as active and, because of the overwhelming ethos of Finnization, yearly recruits numbers of Swedo-Finn youth and alienates them from their mother-tongue, particularly and mainly in the urban areas.

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1. See a list of these in G.O. Rosenqvist, "Det finlandsvenska kyrkölivet" in Det Svenska Finland (Stockholm, 1948), p. 120.



Despite all such points of potential friction, the two linguistic sections of the Lutheran Church continue to live in peaceful cooperation within one fold. Undoubtedly the major reason why separatism, even during the most trying years of anti-Swedish sentiment, did not go further and stopped with the formation of the diocese is that the whole tradition of the Finnish Church is a direct translation of the Swedish Church in Sweden by which it was nourished from the fourteenth century to the time of autonomy. Ever since, the connection between the two churches has never been completely broken, for the great Swedish theological seminaries still play a major rôle in education in the Lutheran Church in Scandinavia.

### III - SECONDARY VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS: SCIENCE, EDUCATION, THE ARTS, THE HUMANITIES AND FOLK CULTURE

The associations discussed in Section II are all of the type that enjoys wide and indiscriminate popular support and touches directly the lives of all or almost all Finnish citizens. The scientific, educational and diverse cultural institutions discussed in this section, on the other hand, are not as widely supported individually --





though collectively they probably encompass the whole of the population -- nor do they touch the lives of Finns as directly -- though again indirectly they probably exert as strong an influence on the mode of life of Finns as do the primary ones. To present a brief but comprehensive overview of the influence and extent of the voluntary associations of this type, we arbitrarily divide them into four categories<sup>1</sup>: funds and endowments, scientific associations, cultural associations, and other voluntary associations. Although for lack of meaningful comparative data it is not possible to divide the discussion on a linguistic basis, an attempt will be made to separate clearly the Finnish from the Swedish language organizations.

a) Funds and Endowments

Funds and endowments directed primarily to facilitate the work of the different voluntary associations dealing with scientific, educational and cultural matters appear to be well organized in Finland, and there is a clear division among these as to whether their funds are

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1. It must be emphasized that this is a purely arbitrary division for purposes of presentation. An analytically more meaningful division will have to await the availability of comprehensive statistical data, which at the moment are unobtainable.



available for Finnish- or Swedish-language activities or for both. Among the first named group the largest appears to be the Jenny and Annti Vihuri Fund with assets, in the 1940s, of approximately 80 million Fmk<sup>1</sup>, followed by the Alfred Kordelis Foundation with 69 million Fmk, the Turku University Fund, with 63 million Fmk and finally by the Finnish Cultural Fund with 25 million Fmk. The total of these and a number of smaller funds reached approximately 395 million Fmk.

Of the Swedish-language oriented funds, the Svenska Litteratursällskapet (Swedish Literature Society), founded in 1885 for the pursuit of studies and the propagation of Swedish language literature in Finland, in 1941 had assets of 39.6 million Fmk. A special fund, the Swedish Cultural Fund, established by the Society in 1908, in 1941 had assets of 41.3 million Fmk. These two largest funds were followed by a number of smaller ones such as the Finnish Scientific Society, with assets of 3.5 million Fmk, the

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1. Almost all the data concerning assets of Fmks are unfortunately over 20 years old and the present assets are, of course, most likely much larger. Nevertheless this data is valuable since it is the only comparative Swedish-Finnish data available and in any case it is doubtful that the relative positions of the funds have changed much.



Finnish Medical Society, the Economic Society in Finland and the Juridical Association in Finland. In addition to these there is the Åbo Academy Society which spent 157.5 million Fmk on the University in 1941. Its assets on December 31, 1962, amounted to 11,670,000 new Fmk. The total assets of these and other primarily Swedish-language oriented funds reached approximately 250 million Fmk in the early forties.

In addition to the abovenamed mainly unilingually-oriented groups of funds, there was also a third group of funds of a bilingual character, whose assets in the same period reached approximately 82 million Fmk<sup>1</sup>.

It can thus be seen that insofar as funds of the educational-scientific type were concerned, the 9.6% that the Swedish-speakers formed of the population in 1940 had in that decade the exclusive use of 250 million Fmk plus partial use of 82 million Fmk, while the 90.4% Finnish majority had the exclusive use of 395 million Fmk in addition to partial use of the 82 million Fmk

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1. According to the Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 174, the total of all voluntary funds and endowments on Dec. 31, 1962 stood at 249,542,000 new Fmk, held by a total of 1,108 different organizations. The largest number of these (370) were in the category of "Educational Work", with total assets of 135,804,000 new Fmk. No distinction was made as to the language orientation of these funds.







mentioned. The Swedish population then was comparatively very well served, and it is doubtful that 20 years have made that much of a difference. In any case the least than can safely be said without up-to-date data is that the Swedish-speaking population which today is smaller in both absolute as well as relative terms than it was in 1940, is today very well served financially in the educational and scientific area, even if the total size of the funds has not risen appreciably.

b) Scientific<sup>1</sup> Associations (Learned Societies)

The majority of the main voluntary associations in this category were originally founded during the nineteenth century and were of course mainly Swedish in language. Although with the progressive Finnization of the country around the turn of the century many of these organizations became officially bilingual, nevertheless most of their Finnish-speaking members left and formed parallel unilingual Finnish organizations. Thus today we are faced with four linguistic types of organizations in this

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1. The term "sciences" in both Finnish and Swedish is equally applicable to the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. Thus this category includes organizations from all three areas.



category: (1) the unilingual Swedish, (2) the officially bilingual but predominantly and practically unilingual Swedish, (3) the truly bilingual, (4) and the unilingual Finnish. The largest of these in terms of membership are, of course, the unilingual Finnish and the smallest in number the officially bilingual but predominantly unilingual Swedish. The relative numbers of Swedish and Finnish organizations are about equal, the latter having been formed as parallels to the former. Thus, there are the two central scientific organizations: the predominantly Swedish but officially bilingual (type 2) Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, and the unilingual Finnish Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. Similarly there are two law societies, reflecting the language arrangements of the central scientific organizations: the Swedish but officially bilingual Juridiska Föreningen i Finland and the unilingual Finnish Suomalainen Lakimiesyhdistys.

The medical societies on the other hand have today a linguistically dual organization: while the doctors of both languages are united in the bilingual "social club" type of society, the Suomen Laakarinyhdistys-Finska Lakarsällskapet, they are linguistically divided in their specialized, research-oriented societies. The economists' organizations, on the other hand, are linguistically totally separated into the Swedish -- the older of the two -- Ekonomiska Samfundet and the Finnish Kansantaaloudellinen Yhdistys.



A number of truly bilingual organizations also exist among which the foremost are: the Societas pro fauna et flora -- which however, has a unilingual Finnish competitor, Vanamo; Geografiska Sällskapet i Finland<sup>1</sup> (geography); Historiska Föreningen i Finland<sup>1</sup> (history); Pedagogiska Föreningen i Finland<sup>1</sup> (pedagogics); and the Nyfilologiska Föreningen<sup>1</sup> (philology).

These and other learned societies, whether operating mainly in Finnish or Swedish or both, have throughout their history been and continue to be perhaps even more faithful to their "scientific" objectives than comparable American or Canadian societies. Certainly all are much more active in publishing than their North American opposites, putting out, in addition to quarterly journals, a series of scientific monographs. Most also provide financial assistance to researchers and take a leading part in initiating research projects.

In activities such as these a large degree of co-operation exists among the different societies and language differences are disregarded. Indeed it appears that the linguistic parallels of the older societies persist mainly as a result of tradition and the desire

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1. Names are given here in Swedish only although all have bilingual or even trilingual (latin) names.







of the Swedish-speakers to have a free hand in assisting Swedish-language research and its publication in Swedish in such language-conscious areas as the social sciences and the humanities. In contrast, the natural sciences appear to pay scant heed to the national languages in research and publication, preferring, indeed, to publish in English or some other major European language.

c) Cultural Associations

The cultural and educational voluntary associations discussed under this heading are principally of the folk-culture type, i.e., they are popular organizations either dispensing "culture" (literature, art, music, theatre) to the populace at large in a non-professional and non-academic manner, and/or they attempt to revive and propagate a historic "national" and "patriotic" folk-culture through folksongs, folk-music, folk-dances and folk-dress. Of course, it is impossible to divorce completely the learned societies with academic interests in "culture" and "folk-culture", such as the Svenska Litteratursällskapet or the Historiska Föreningen i Finland, from this section, for their academic and financial activities have undoubtedly had an important



influence in the past in arousing popular interest and in starting the "popular" movement of cultural organizations. And even though the learned societies through their academic activities continue to exert some influence on the cultural organizations, it must nevertheless be remembered that the latter are primarily "popular" in character and operate on entirely different principles from the learned societies.

Foremost among the instigators and the propagators of this "folk-culture" in Finland, both of the Finnish and the Swedish languages, have been the various youth organizations, ranging from the "nations" at the Universities, through the different labour organizations' youth groups, the Church youth groups, and the political parties' youth groups, to the various youth activities of the sports organizations. In these youth organizations, usually through some outside stimulus, the interest was aroused that today forms the basis of the modern Finnish popular cultural life -- a blend of all aspects of culture, including folk theatre, music, singing, sports, libraries and adult education. And it is usually the members and former members of youth groups that have formed the core of such other folk cultural organizations as farmers' and agricultural clubs, and the rural local affairs club and the women's rural club movements.



Among the Finnish speakers, the "national"-patriotic saga of Kalevala inspired not only the socio-political Fennoman movement but soon revived and developed a Finnish-language folk cultural movement among Finnish youth. The leadership by university students of aitosuomalaisuus (Real Finnishness) of the early decades of this century of course served to fan the Finnish folk cultural flame among youth organizations.

Among the Swedo-Finns, a similar folk cultural "nationalism", despite attempts to rouse it during the 1880s, did not arise until 1906 when the Föreningen Brage (Brage Society) was founded. The Society's formation coincided with the nadir of Swedo-Finn social and political expectations as a result of the Parliamentary and representational reforms of the previous year. Thus the Brage Society was immediately able to succeed, given the new-found cohesiveness of the Swedo-Finns, and it became the cultural partner to the political Swedish People's Party, founded in 1907. Within short order Brage, using the intellectual resources of the academic Svenska Litteratursällskapet, roused the Swedo-Finn populace from its lethargy by providing Swedo-Finn equivalents to the Kalevalan Finnish cultural nationalism through a revival of Swedish-language folksongs, folk-poetry, folk-theatre and folk-dress -- much of this resurrected by the research archives





of the Svenska Litteratursällskapet. One of the most culturally electrifying and uniting results of this activity was the formal organization of large folk-choirs during the first two decades of the century. By the 1940s this activity had produced 12 song and music associations, joined in a superfederation, the Finlands Svenska Sång-och Musikförbund (Finland's Swedish Song and Music Federation).

#### d) Other Voluntary Associations

In addition to the primary voluntary associations and the three categories of secondary voluntary associations so far discussed, there are left over a large number of associations that by their nature fit into none of the above categories and many of which cover more than one category. Many of the former, such as the Swedish-language Samfundet Folkhälsan i Svenska Finland (Public Health Society in Swedish Finland) and the Bostadsföreningen Svensk-Finland ("Settlements" Federation of Swedish Finland) as well as the Marthaföreningen, are popular organizations that combine a folk cultural Swedo-Finn nationalism or parochialism (such as the Bostadsföreningen) with a public service (such as Samfundet Folkhälsan). Indeed the Swedish Public Health Society provides perhaps just the right mixture of public service and nationalism through summer



camps, roving medical services in the Swedish-speaking littoral of southwest Finland, psychological and mental health services, with painless Swedo-Finn nationalism. Similarly the Marthaförbund, in grouping homemakers together, instructing them in modern household techniques and elementary rural hygiene, as well as providing social amenities, probably operates as a significant factor in upholding a Swedish-language, Swedo-Finn sense of unity, and a sense of separation from the Finnish speakers.

A number of voluntary associations mentioned in passing in other parts of this study, such as the Swedish-school districts and individual school-boards and associations, the various teachers' organizations, and the university students' "nations" and other organizations, though not popular movements, nevertheless in their activities provide a leading impact on folk culture and hence an identification with linguistic nationalism.

All the different types of organizations mentioned that have a cultural popular impact today operate in relatively low key when compared to their nationalist fervour during the heyday of "Real Finnishness"; and this observation includes both Finnish and Swedish associations. However it is merely realistic to appreciate the relative positions of the Finnish-speakers



and the Swedo-Finns and then to note that, though rabid "Finnishness" and anti-Swedishness has disappeared among Finns, and though anti-Finn feelings are rarely found among Swedes, there is nevertheless a strong realization of Swedishness among Swedo-Finns, and it is strongly propagated by their organizations. A further difference between the Finnish-speakers and the Swedish-speakers is of course the existence of a popular unifying body, the Swedo-Finn Assembly -- Folkinget -- among the latter which has, during the past twenty-odd years, appropriated more and more the position of a central directing agency for all Swedo-Finn popular voluntary activities. This, plus the fact that there are over 2,000 voluntary associations among Swedo-Finns, point to a very strong community spirit that the large Finnish majority of the nation cannot match.

#### IV FOLKTINGET

##### a) The Struggle for Unity

In Finnish history the Swedish People's Assembly, or Svenska Finlands Folkting, is unique, rejects all comparisons, and therefore deserves a section to itself. The Finnish-speaking people of Finland have never had anything comparable to it, for not even Parliament or its predecessors represent solely the Finnish-speaking element of the population.







The Folkting, an assembly of sixty representatives elected every six years by all Swedish-speaking Finns meeting every third year or more often when deemed necessary, is a wholly extra-constitutional institution that has no official standing whatever in Finland, and depends for its existence wholly on the voluntary support of the Swedo-Finns. However, since this support over the past four and a half decades has been unwavering and unanimous the Folkting has acquired such political influence both among Swedo-Finns and Finnish-speakers, and particularly among Parliamentarians and the Government, that it is universally respected and accepted as both the highest Swedo-Finn forum and the Swedish-language directing agency in Finland. Yet it must not be forgotten that the Folkting and all its ancillary activities operate completely and wholly on the basis of voluntary subscription and that the only factor of cohesiveness that supports this voluntarism is the Swedo-Finn identity of the Swedish-speaking people of Finland and their desire to maintain that identity. Thus perhaps the greatest strength of the organization has been since its inception the minuteness of the Swedish proportion of the nation's population and the consequent realization of the ever-present and growing threat of assimilation.



The Folkting was originally born at a time when threats of overwhelming and forceful assimilation reached their high point in the emotionally charged atmosphere of the years immediately succeeding Independence and the civil war<sup>1</sup>, at a time when it seemed that orthodox political activity at the partisan level would produce no results and a new medium combining traditional politics with non-political mass support and the authority of the respected Swedish élite in the professions, the sciences, the church and the economy was the only alternative to succumbing to the flood of Finnization. Thus the first Folkting was elected and called together in 1919. It fulfilled all the hopes that its instigators had of it and in the following year disbanded, having secured acceptable constitutional and legal safeguards for the Swedish language. That the coming into existence of the Folkting was entirely the result of fears of political impotence in the face of the massive onslaught of Finnization, and not an expression of separatism or intractable Swedish nationalism on the part of the Swedo-Finns, is demonstrated by the speedy disappearance

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1. For a fuller description of the development at this time that affected the institution of the Folkting and Folkinget's initial programmes, see Part I of the Study, chapter on History, Section IV, 1 and 2B.



of the assembly as soon as legal guarantees were forthcoming. Not even the anti-Swedish thirties succeeded in bringing the Swedo-Finns to concerted action again through the reassembly of the Folkting. Indeed it is questionable whether the assembly would ever have been reactivated or whether any other central organ would have become as influential in developing a cohesiveness and a community-"nationalist" spirit among the Swedo-Finns if their wildest hopes in the initial programme of the 1919-20 Folkting -- the setting up of a number of Swedish-language provinces in addition to Åland -- had been granted by Parliament. As it is now the Folkting appears to draw most of its sustaining strength from the facts that it is a wholly voluntary institution, and that it is concerned neither with public administration nor partisan politics. To support this assumption we need but point to the province of Åland, which has a complete administrative and political organization and is wholly Swedish yet is but little interested in pan-Swedo-Finn activity and is the most disinterested and lukewarm supporter of the Folkting<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Of course we must not forget that the Ålanders have always stood aloof from the mainland. Nevertheless, it appears that political and administrative autonomy have added considerably to their feeling of independence from all that is mainland.





The assembly was brought into existence again after a twenty-year period, in 1941, only because the new threat of Finnization that arose was not controllable by conventional political means. This time, however, the threat -- the Karelian refugee resettlement problem -- was a long-term one and in the meantime other festering problems were raised and their solutions attempted by the Folkting.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the headlong, though more rational, Finnization of the thirties and the demonstrated reconciliation of Finns with Swedes during the war appeared to pose a new and more dangerous long-term threat to the Swedish-language in Finland than the emotionalism of 1918-20. This was voluntary assimilation on the part of Swedo-Finn young people anxious to make careers in an overwhelmingly Finnish society and their consequent irreparable loss to the minuscule Swedish group.

To prevent the current trickle of assimilation from turning into a flood as relations between Swede and Finn became friendlier and as it became easier for Swedes to be accepted as equal and full members of Finnish society -- provided they spoke Finnish, the Swedo-Finns realized that they had to organize their society into a more cohesive

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1. See Part I of this Study, chapter on History; Section IV, 3A and B.



unit than ever before so as to be able both to offer greater inducements to Swedo-Finn youth to stay Swedish by at least providing comparable educational and recreational facilities to those of the Finns, and to develop through these organizations a greater identification among all Swedo-Finns with the concept of a Swedo-Finn nationality. That both avenues of approach had to be instituted at once and on the modest scale possible was indicated not only by the threat of voluntary assimilation but also by the fact of the ongoing proportionate decrease in the Swedo-Finn share of the population, brought about by lower birth-rates among the Swedes<sup>1</sup>.

That the process of greater unification was going to be a hard one was indicated by the already existing large number -- over 2,000 -- of voluntary organizations, the result of the streak of independence characteristic of the Finns of both languages. Thus no new superorganizations could be set up; the people would just not submit to such rule and would not give up their already developed associations. The only way to succeed in unification and in hindering assimilation was to coordinate efforts in a

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1. To some extent explained by greater urbanization among them than among Finnish-speakers.



wholly voluntary manner through the democratic forum of the Folkting and to set up special ancillary bodies to act as advisory organs in the fight for coordination. And in this manner, indeed, the Folkting has been eminently successful and its quiet democratic authority and its efficiency have accorded it over the years even greater influence among the "fiercely" independent Swedish organizations, while leaving these associations happy in their organizational autonomy.

#### b) Elections

Whereas the Folkting in 1919 and 1940 was a pioneering organization and its administrative arrangements of necessity somewhat indefinite, by the elections of 1946 it already had a more established character, and it has in fact not changed in its essential organizational features since then. For electoral purposes the country is divided into eight districts, seven covering the areas where substantial populations of Swedo-Finns live and the eighth including all the remainder of Finland and the isolated Swedo-Finns therein.<sup>1</sup> All electoral arrangements are made

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1. The four provinces of Finland are covered by the former type of electoral district: Nyland, Abo-Bjorneborg, Ostrobothnia and Aland. For names of districts see Tables XIII and XIV.





by the Central Board of Elections of the Folkting (Central avnämnden för val av Svenska Finlands folkting) responsible directly to the plenary session of the Folkting. At each election 60 representatives, called Folktingsmän are elected from seven<sup>1</sup> districts, usually from electoral lists put up by the Swedish People's Party, and the Swedish sections of the Social Democratic and the People's Democratic (Communist) Parties. Seats are distributed among the districts according to the proportion of votes cast in each district and candidates are elected within districts on the basis of the same type of proportional representation (d'Hondt) system as is used in Finnish general elections.

Table XI showing the electoral figures between 1919 and 1964 appears to bear out our earlier contention that overt support at least for Swedo-Finn cooperation at the highest -- Folkting -- level depends to a significant extent on Finnization threats. For example, the vote reached an all-time high of 148,000 in 1940 at the time of the Karelian resettlement threat but declined significantly in 1946 when this threat and other problems

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1. Special arrangements are in effect for Åland. Its Provincial Assembly may decide to forgo direct elections and itself choose the three representatives. This has been done in every case since 1946.



(such as the University question) had been satisfactorily solved. In 1952, with the settlement of the Ålander demands for new constitutional arrangements it further declined and by 1958, after a decade of peaceful relations on the mainland amongst Swedes and Finns it reached an all-time low of 81,112. Then with the revival of fears in the early sixties of "de-Swedification" of the officially bilingual towns of Åbo and Vasa as a result of the decline of their Swedo-Finn population below the statutory eight per cent and a long drawn-out struggle in Parliament to institute further safeguards,<sup>1</sup> support for the Folkting revived again and reached a respectable 100,397 in 1964.

TABLE XI

Total Votes Cast in Elections for  
the Folkting, 1919-1964

1919	110,000*
1940	148,000*
1946	125,339
1952	99,415
1958	81,112
1964	100,397

\* figures are approximations

Data for 1919 to 1940 from various sources. Data for 1946-1964 from the Svenska Finlands Folkting, Protokoll, Handlingar och Beslut, 1946, 1952, 1958, 1964.

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1. Other matters were also involved, as for example the desire of the Swedo-Finns to lower the age at which all students should begin studies of the other national language. So far no advance has been made on this score.



Yet despite these figures which show that at the very least one third of all Swedo-Finns in Finland entitled to vote (i.e., 21 years of age or over)<sup>1</sup> actually have participated in the Folkting's elections, a comparison with Table XII showing votes for the Swedish People's Party in the General Elections nearest to the Folkting's elections between 1945 and 1964 indicate that political support among Swedo-Finns is significantly stronger than is electoral support for the voluntary activity of the Folkting. This is equally evident if we subtract between eight and fourteen thousand votes cast for the two socialist party slates in the Folkting elections from the Folkting election totals and subtract approximately 7,000 votes cast for the SFP by Ålanders (who do not participate directly in the elections of the Folkting) from the total votes cast for the SFP in the General Elections.

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1. In the 1960 census almost 230,000 were in this category.





TABLE XII

Votes Cast for the Swedish People's  
Party in General Elections, 1945-1962

<u>Year</u>	<u>Votes</u>
1945	134,106
1951	137,171
1958	130,888
1962	147,655

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1962,  
Table 372.

Table XIII and XIV show the fluctuation in support by electoral districts. Comparing the first post-war election and the last, we see that only in two electoral districts did support in 1964 regain its 1946 position -- Nyland West and Finland-at-large. In all other areas support is significantly lower, the greatest drop having taken place in Helsingfors, which is to be expected, since the pressures of Finnization are greatest in this metropolis. More surprising, however, is the decline in Åboland and Ostrobothnia, but particularly in Ostrobothnia South -- all rural areas and therefore expected to be more stable in their support of the Folkting. Nyland East is semi-urban and in any case strongly Helsinki-oriented and therefore an area of expected loss.



TABLE XIIIVotes Cast in Folktinget's ElectoralDistricts in Elections 1946-1964

District	Votes			
	1946	1952	1958	1964
Helsingfors	31,621	22,088	18,899	21,692
Nyland East	17,117	13,888	10,224	12,132
Nyland West	17,397	14,716	12,885	18,730
Åboland	11,888	9,611	8,053	9,474
Ostrobothnia South	24,229	19,319	14,299	16,547
Ostrobothnia North	19,811	17,283	13,724	15,060
Finland-at-large	3,266	2,510	3,028	6,762
Åland*	--	--	--	--
Total	125,339	99,415	81,112	100,397

\* Åland representatives were chosen indirectly by the Åland Provincial Assembly

Source: Svenska Finlands Folkting, Protokoll, Handlingar och Beslut, 1946, 1952, 1958, 1964.



TABLE XIVDistribution of Seats by Electoral Districts

District	Seats			
	1946	1952	1958	1964
Helsingfors	15	13	14	14
Nyland East	8	8	6	7
Nyland West	8	9	9	11
Åboland	5	5	6	5
Ostrobothnia South	10	11	11	10
Ostrobothnia North	9	9	9	8
Finland-at-large	2	2	2	2
Åland	3	3	3	3
Total	60	60	60	60

Source: Svenska Finlands Folkting, Protokoll, Handlingar och Beslut, 1946, 1952, 1958, 1964.

Though the conclusions we must draw on the basis of electoral data seem to indicate a widespread and fluctuating, over time and space, decline of support of the Folkting among Swedo-Finns, other non-electoral indications enable us to sustain our earlier and more cheerful conclusion that the Folkting -- despite fluctuating electoral support -- enjoys an unprecedented

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the  
 research and the objectives of the study. It then presents a  
 literature review of the existing research on the topic.  
 The second part of the paper describes the methodology used  
 in the study, including the data collection and analysis  
 techniques. The third part of the paper presents the results  
 of the study and discusses the implications of the findings.  
 The fourth part of the paper concludes the study and  
 provides recommendations for future research.



place of eminence among Swedo-Finn voluntary activities and through them a widespread influence not indicated by electoral figures. Indeed the suggestion can be made that the assembly's electoral support has declined over time precisely because its influence has increased, that the Folkting has become a respected institution and as such has become so accepted that electoral support is taken for granted and not expected to play a large role in its activities. And indeed the Folkting organization would appear to lend support to such a contention, for its elected representatives meet only once (for about a week) every three years<sup>1</sup>. All the work and "power" of the organization thus by default rests in the hands of the fifteen folktingsfullmäktige<sup>2</sup> who meet on the average four times a year and provide detailed supervision for the numerous boards and committees which run the subsidiary offices and services of the Folkting. To a large measure the triennial plenary session merely approves the work of the folktingsfullmäktige and the subsidiary organs and sets them new tasks to perform. Since most of the latter are introduced into the agency by the

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1. Though there is provision for extraordinary sessions to supplement the triennial sessions, none were called between 1946 and 1964.

2. See infra, p. F185.



fullmäktige -- who act as the government to the assembly's parliament -- little beyond brief debate and quick approval remains for the plenary assembly.

Another factor which appears to prejudice the importance of elections, particularly among younger Swedo-Finns, is their charge that the same "highly respected" and consequently older and more "reactionary" candidates are returned election after election. This charge is only partly true, however, for though the candidates elected in large measure are of the "older generation" and "consequently reactionary" there is nevertheless, a fairly high turnover rate. For example, of those elected in 1952, in the Helsingfors district four (out of 13) were new; in 1958, seven (out of 14) were new; and in 1964, eight (out of 14) were newcomers.

But it is also because the Folkting is so stable and conservative in its policies and because its members enjoy high respect among the Finnish community as a whole that the Folkting has had such good relations with the government and has been able to further build up its record of achievements -- by "respectable" methods and



not by radical measures advocated by some younger modern Swecomen. Similarly they have been able to retard Finnization, which policy some younger Swedo-Finns, of course, disagree with, and therefore grumble at the "reactionariness" of the Folkting.

c) Organization

If the plenary assembly of the Folkting is compared to Parliament then the fifteen folktingsfullmäktige can be compared to the government. The latter are elected at each plenary session to office until the next session. There are a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen, and while the former and one of the latter has since 1941 belonged to the Swedish People's Party, the other Vice-Chairman has always been a Social Democrat -- yet another indication of the desire of the Folkting to be truly representative of all Swedish-speaking people in Finland, and to keep party disputes outside its framework. But what makes this example particularly noteworthy is that the Social Democratic vote both in the Folkting and among Swedes as a whole is really too small to merit a Vice-Chairmanship.





Among their many duties the most important are the following four:

- 1) to keep a careful watch especially over the educational and vocational facilities provided in Swedish in agriculture, household economics, and health, commercial, industrial, seamanship and technical education;
- 2) to see to it that the needs for Swedish elementary schools, Adult Educational Institutes, Workers' Institutes, Secondary Schools and other vocational institutions are satisfied;
- 3) to make certain that the state deals fairly in financial allotments to these educational institutes and to Swedish language education in the National University (Helsinki) and other colleges;
- 4) to make certain that Swedo-Finn recruits are indeed given training in Swedish-language units (as provided by the Constitution) and that all legal language requirements in the Armed Forces are adhered to.

1900

1. The first of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

2. The second of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

3. The third of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

4. The fourth of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

5. The fifth of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

6. The sixth of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

7. The seventh of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

8. The eighth of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

9. The ninth of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

10. The tenth of the three main branches of the tree is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important. It is the one which is now the most numerous and the most important.

Another objective of the fullmäktige that belongs in the "most important" group of duties, but in which they have so far been markedly unsuccessful, is to act as the uniting body of Swedo-Finn communes and to attempt to bring about their formation into higher, administratively self-governing areas.<sup>1</sup>

The above work is performed in two ways. At the highest level the fullmäktige themselves present myriads of communications to different ministries, central authorities and the Minister of Justice in which they draw attention to shortcomings in language administration or errors committed in the application of the language laws. To handle the submission of communications of this type the fullmäktige have instituted the office of the legal procurator or Lagfaren Ombudsman<sup>2</sup>.

- 
1. This is an old dream; it was one of the few points in the programme of 1919-20 not accepted by Parliament.
  2. The title Ombudsman is not restricted in Scandinavian usage to the Parliamentary or Justitie Ombudsman but is applied generally to an officer whose duty it is to act as a special "watchdog" of any organization. In considering the Lagfaren Ombudsman as a possible model for other countries, it must be remembered that he is not an independent, legally-recognized authority, but rather an official working on behalf of a voluntary association, namely the Folkting. He can only try to influence the Government, and this influence depends on such informal factors as the personal stature of the folktingsfullmäktige, the historic weight of precedent, and the sympathy generally felt by the élite in Finland toward the Swedo-Finns.



At a second level of activity of a more internal character, a large number of boards, committees and ombudsmen both gather information, give overall direction, and even financial help, or act to guard Swedishness in a wide range of commercial activities. Some, like the Military Committee (Militärutskott) or Agriculture Committee (Jordbruksutskott) have a job that keeps the Lagfaren Ombudsman busy with his communications to various government agencies; others, like the Språkvårdsnämnd (Language Board) or the Kulturutskott (Culture Committee) and the Kulturombudsman (Cultural Commissioner) are more directly involved in following developments in literature and education and in working out recommendations for their advancement. A central point in Folktinget's cultural programme has long been the instituting of an independent Swedish Department of Education as an independent central authority encompassing all Swedo-Finn educational matters at presently handled by various bilingual authorities and the Swedish section of the Central School Board. So far this hope has remained an unattainable dream, so the Folkting has instituted organizations of its own to supplement the official Swedish-language efforts. One of these is the Yrkesutbildningstyrelse (Vocational Education Authority), a subsidiary organ of the Folkting charged





with helping develop vocational educational institutes and courses in the Swedish language both by cooperation with the various ministries<sup>1</sup> in charge of these matters as well as through private arrangements with industry. In addition the styrelse publishes information concerning the availability of places in Swedish language vocational educational institutes and courses, and helps prospective students find a place in these.

In addition to the above type of activity which touches administrative and political matters and demands a certain amount of "external" or Finnish cooperation in language matters at the "official" level, the Folkting has over the years turned more and more to yet another type of activity, wholly internal Swedo-Finn voluntary cooperation. One of the earliest efforts of this type was the founding in 1942 of the Svenska Befolkningsförbundet i Finland (Swedish Population and Settlement Association in Finland) which is concerned with all aspects of community development among Swedo-Finns, but mainly in preventing Swedish depopulation of Swedo-Finn communes. Since most of these are rural it is only natural that

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1. See Chapter on Education, above, section on Vocational Education.



a large amount of work of this type concerns agricultural problems, and in 1944 the Folkting instituted the Finlands-svenska Jordn<sup>o</sup>amnden (Swedo-Finn Land Board) which in co-operation with the above-named "external" and "internal" organs of the Folkting and its affiliated organizations leads a spirited battle for modernization of Swedo-Finn agriculture and attempts by this means and through creating an exciting and variegated educational and voluntary social environment to tie Swedo-Finn youth to the land, and thereby (hopefully) prevent them from leaving for the attractions of the cities.

Areas that create the greatest population problems for the Folkting are the province of Ostrobothnia and the Åboland littoral, at once relatively the "poorest" areas of Swedish Finland and potentially the "safest" from the point of view of Finnish expansion. To attack problems connected with these areas Folktinget succeeded in 1949 in forcing the State to appoint a so-called Littoral Committee (Skärgårdskommittén) with instructions to seek ways and means of upgrading economic and living standards in this Swedish-speaking area. To attack similar problems in Ostrobothnia the fullmäktige in 1950 appointed the Osterb<sup>o</sup>ttensiska Ekononiska Kommittén, which resulted in the establishment of yet another voluntary association, the Osterb<sup>o</sup>ttens Småföretagarförbundet (The Small Businesses Association of Ostrobothnia).



The above examples well illustrate the character of Folktinget's efforts: on the one hand, to act as leader in organizing self-help voluntary organizations, and on the other, to seek state help and intervention wherever possible.

Although it would be pointless to attempt in this brief overview to list all organizations and activities of the Folkting two more must be mentioned to give a complete view of the breadth of the Folkting's activities. One of these is the area of social welfare led by the Socialutskottet or Committee of Social Problems, under whose direction a Social Ombudsman, later changed to the Social and Industrial Ombudsman to reflect the changing character of Swedo-Finn socio-economic conditions, has operated since 1952. Needless to say, these two organs, as most organs of the Folkting, operate in both the voluntary field by giving advice and leadership to the several associations described above that are concerned with matters of health and socio-economic self-help, and in the field of state intervention.





Lastly, the Folkting, being composed as it is to a significant extent of erudite and academically qualified men and women, and being supported to an even larger extent by the learned community, and consequently being aware of the importance of élite leadership and learned services in almost all its phases of activity, in 1945 founded the Svenska Vetenskapliga Centralrådet (the Swedish Academic and Scientific Central Council). This organ plays a major role in assuring the supply of Swedish academic talent by dispensing funds for advanced study, and by helping both prospective and young academic talent find teaching positions, particularly in the Swedish language at the National University (Helsinki) and the Technical College. Again the secret of success of this organ is vested in its voluntaristic character: it is composed of 21 representatives of diverse Colleges, disciplines and interest groups, and is thus able to draw on the resources of the entire Swedish academic and scientific community in Finland.

In brief summation, then, the Folkting exemplifies the aspirations of the Swedo-Finn nationality in Finland, by its attempt at integrating, yet keeping intact, a unified Swedish-speaking Swedo-Finn community into the full life of Finland. It is not, as some charge, a



last stand of emotional Swedish separatism or even identity. The above examples of its activity belie any such description and at the same time demonstrate the ingenious manner in which the organization has been able over the years to fulfil its objectives. This might be described, perhaps, as cooperative decentralized and democratic voluntarism, guided by a strong central yet unobtrusive body, the Svenska Finlands Folkting.



APPENDIX - CENTRAL COOPERATIVES, 1961

A. Pellervo Society and its Member Organizations

Pellervo Society

General association for cooperative education and advisory services.

Founded in 1899.

Membership: 10 central cooperatives and 1,333 local cooperatives.

Periodicals: "Pellervo" for individual members,  
"Suomen Ossustoimintalehti" for board members.

Central Cooperative - SOK

General wholesale for consumers' cooperatives.

Founded in 1904.

Membership: 362 consumers' cooperatives with 512,000 individual members.

Sales: 257 million dollars.

General Cooperative Union - YOL

Educational association for SOK cooperatives, in connection with SOK.

Founded in 1908.

Periodicals: "Yhteishyvä" for individual members,  
"Osuuskauppalehti" for board members and employees.

Central Bank - OKO

Central bank for cooperative credit societies.

Founded in 1902.

Membership: 527 credit societies with 306,000 individual members.

Loans granted: 150 million dollars.

Central Union - OKL

Union for cooperative credit societies, in connection with OKO.

Founded in 1928.

Periodicals: "Yhteisvoimin" for individual members,  
"Osuuskassalehti" for employees,  
"Taloudellinen katsaus" for credit societies.





Central Cooperative - Hankkija

Special wholesale organization for agricultural and dairy requisites.

Founded in 1905.

Membership: 298 consumers' cooperatives (SOK), 217 cooperative dairies (Valio), 18 other associations, 5 individuals, in all 538 members.

Sales: 97 million dollars.

Periodical: "Hankkijan Saroilta" for farmers.

Cooperative Dairies' Association - Valio

General and marketing cooperative for cooperative dairies.

Founded in 1905.

Membership: 303 cooperative dairies with 180,000 individual members.

Sales: 149 million dollars.

Periodicals: "Karjatalous" for individual members, "Karjantuote" for employees.

Central Meat Cooperative - TLK

General and marketing cooperative for slaughterhouse cooperatives.

Founded in 1936.

Membership: 14 slaughterhouse cooperatives with 113,000 individual members.

Sales: 16 million dollars.

Periodical: "Osuusteurastamo" for farmers.

Central Cooperative - Karjakunta

Special central cooperative for meat trade.

Founded in 1918.

Membership: 160 consumers' cooperatives (SOK) and 5 cooperative dairies, in all 165 members.

Sales: 30 million dollars.

Periodical: "Karjakunta" for board members and employees.

Central Cooperative - Vientikunta Muna

Special marketing cooperative for eggs.

Founded in 1921.

Membership: 3 local egg marketing cooperatives, 110 consumers' cooperatives (SOK) and 9,000 individual egg producers.

Sales: 7 million dollars.



Forest Cooperative - Metsäliitto

Forest owners' national union and marketing cooperative.  
Founded in 1947.

Membership: 60,000 individual forest owners.

Sales: 29 million dollars.

Pohja Concern

Insurance companies for SOK cooperatives.

- Mutual Life Insurance Company POHJA, founded in 1923, insurance coverage 213 million dollars.
- Mutual Insurance Company VARA, founded in 1910, fire insurance coverage 901 million dollars.
- Pension Fund ELONVARA, founded in 1919, 12,123 insured persons.

Reinsurance Company - Vakava

Mutual reinsurance company for local fire insurance association.

Founded in 1917.

Membership: 151 fire insurance associations.

Reinsurance coverage: 1,000 million dollars.

Reinsurance Company - Kekri

Mutual reinsurance company for local cattle insurance associations.

Founded in 1926.

Membership: 79 cattle insurance associations.

Reinsurance coverage: 3 million dollars.

B. Cooperative Organizations around KK

Cooperative Union - KK

Ideological union for progressive consumers' cooperatives.  
Founded in 1916.

Membership: 111 consumers' cooperatives with 515,000 individual members.

Sales: 6 million dollars.

Periodicals: "Kuluttaja" for individual members,  
"Osuusliike" for board members,  
"Työtoveri" for employees,  
"Viljelijä" for farmers.



Cooperative Wholesale Society - OTK

General wholesale for KK consumers' cooperatives.

Founded in 1917.

Membership as in KK.

Sales: 214 million dollars.

Kansa Companies

Insurance companies for KK cooperatives.

- Mutual Life Insurance Company KANSA, founded in 1923, insurance coverage 121 million dollars.
- Mutual General Insurance Company KANSA, founded in 1919, fire insurance coverage 1,014 million dollars.
- Pension Fund TUKI, founded in 1936, 14,805 insured persons.

C. FSA and its Member Organizations

Swedish Cooperative Union - FSA

General association for Swedish-speaking cooperatives.

Founded in 1919.

Membership: 5 central cooperatives and 133 local cooperatives, in all 138 members.

Periodical: "Tidskrift for Lantman och Andelsfolk" for farmers.

Central Labor Cooperative

Special wholesale for agricultural requisites.

Founded in 1898.

Membership: 75 local cooperatives and 245 individuals, in all 320 members.

Sales: 13 million dollars.

Central Cooperative - Enigheten

Marketing cooperative for cooperative dairies.

Founded in 1918.

Membership: 36 cooperative dairies.

Sales: 10 million dollars.





Aaland's Central Cooperative

Central cooperative for cooperative dairies on the Aaland islands.

Founded in 1922.

Membership: 16 cooperative dairies.

Sales: 2 million dollars.

Central Cooperative - Osterbottens Agg

Special marketing cooperative for eggs.

Founded in 1931.

Membership: 18 local egg marketing cooperatives, 9  
consumers' cooperatives and 758 individuals,  
in all 785 members.

Sales: 1 million dollars.

Central Fish Cooperative

Central cooperative for fishing cooperatives.

Founded in 1947.

Membership: 7 local fishing cooperatives.

Sales: 1 million dollars.



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POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

by

T. Miljan

October 1966.





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## I POLITICAL PARTIES

### 1. Political Configurations: Influencing Factors

Party politics in Finland, at least since the complete democratization of the franchise and parliamentary life in 1905, have followed the French example of the multi-party system rather than the Anglo-American two- or three-party system. The forces that gave rise to the system, however, differ considerably from those of the French example. Whereas the latter are largely ideological (e.g., the centre-right conflict over the form of state, and the left-centre conflict over revolution versus evolution in the development of national and international life), the basic motive forces in Finnish politics are more mundane and largely of an internal character. The first is the social and class conflict, the second the linguistic-cultural complex of attitudes, and the third the general geo-political situation of Finland. In concrete terms, the first gives rise to problems of relationship among the different social classes; the second, problems of relationship between the Swedish- and the Finnish-language populations; and the third, the problem of Finland's national status, attitudes and relations with her giant neighbour to the East.





a) Social class-conflict

In general the attitudes of conflict present among the different classes in Finland do not differ much from similar class-attitudes in other western free-enterprise economies. The differences, however, are important, for whereas the socio-economic development in Germany and England, for example, is of almost two hundred years standing, in Finland it is largely the child of this century, and furthermore is tied inextricably with the other two main political motive forces -- language and national status, Russian-Soviet<sup>1</sup> relations. Another difference is that the economic differentiation has never of itself been of the same intensity in the formation of the social structure as in North America. For example: some of the politically leading social groups, such as the academics, the civil servants and the land-owning farmers, have remained largely outside the economic power-conflict between the owners of the means of production and the mass of wage-earners. Socio-economic developments in the twentieth century, then, not only show a tendency towards democratic economic levelling but also the development of marked group-differences based on educational background, profession or occupation, and inherited class traditions.

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1. The point here (which is elaborated below) is that national status is tied to a struggle for independence from Russia as well as Soviet communist ideology.



Social developments in a generally democratic milieu usually act as stimuli to partisan activity only when a particular group feels itself being isolated from social growth, vide the United Farmers of Ontario. In Finland this has happened on two occasions, once with the formation of the Agrarian Party and once with the sudden growth of the Social Democratic workers movement. In both cases the main objective was the focussing of class interests on a national scale in opposition to the bourgeois parties dominated by the civil service and entrepreneurial classes.

Historically the class-consciousness of the agrarians and their conflict with the bourgeois parties is of a much older order than the political class organization of socialism. Nineteenth-century Finland was a bureaucratically directed farming community where a minuscule upper class controlled the lives of the overwhelming majority, and where, furthermore, nine tenths of the population was under the dominance of a foreign, Swedish-speaking upper class. The result was that the first political formation of parties in Finland was of a cultural-linguistic character, where the Finnish party with majorities in the Estates of the Clergy and



Peasantry pitted itself against the upper-class Swedish party with majorities in the Estates of Nobility and Bourgeoisie. Though primarily of a cultural-linguistic tendency, the early parties nevertheless included certain socio-political characteristics: the Finnish party's political attitude, for example, was pronouncedly democratic, though later socially conservative attitudes were added which even today are present among the Finnish conservatives; the Swedish party on the other hand exhibited an intellectual-aristocratic liberalism, as supported by a tradition-bound individualism, which is even today exhibited in the Swedish People's Party.

The conflict between the two parties, however, never became an all-out, upper-lower class conflict, mainly because the academics' liberal influence was dominant in both parties, but of particular importance in the Finnish party. The upshot was, of course, that cooperation between Finnish farmers and the Finnish bourgeoisie decreased almost in direct proportion as the influence of the Swedish upper-classes was progressively contained. Thus by the turn of the century when Finnization had definitely established itself in bureaucratic-bourgeois circles instead of cooperation, conflict between the agrarians and the bourgeoisie became the order of the day.





The historical class-opposition of the possessing and the dispossessed classes -- the "owners" and the proletariat -- is of a much more recent date. The reason for this is that industrialization in Finland did not begin until the second half of the last century and even then it proceeded very slowly, marking increases of the "industrialized" population of barely two to three percent per decade. Progressive growth, along with the democratization of the franchise in 1905, nevertheless meant that the dispossessed proletariat as it grew soon attained ability to express itself politically on its low standards of remuneration and living -- the bane of all industrial beginnings. But another phenomenon, the dispossessed rural proletariat, larger than its urban counterpart, forming 52% of the total population in 1880 (when the urban proletariat formed 6.6% of total population) and 41% in 1910 (urban proletariat, 12.2%), to a large extent joined the urban proletariat in its political activity.

One of the reasons for this urban-rural cooperation -- which continues even in the present day -- was the original composition of the Estates, where both groups were excluded; another, and equally important, reason which finally forged the two groups together was the language quarrels which sapped the social-reformist energies of the



political élites, with the result that the democracy of both the Finnish and the Swedish parties remained confined and extended no further than the middle or bourgeois classes. Indeed the political élites seemed to be unaware that a vast basis for revolutionary concepts and attitudes even existed in Finland. They were, however, quickly awakened when in the first post-reform elections (1907) almost two fifths of the electorate voted socialist.

Unfortunately the awakening came too late, so that the conflict between the proletariat and the possessing classes intensified instead of decreasing. To the strictly internal and historical factors, the revolutionary spirit of the times and the revolutionary (albeit constitutional) status of the Finnish state added to the conflict and finally brought it to a head in the brief but fierce civil war of 1918, which, however, instead of clearing the air added a new element of internal conflict to the proletarian movement, left even deeper imprints of lower class-consciousness, and set the scene of class-dominated politics for the next two decades. Though patriotism and the necessity of cooperation in the interests of preserving nationhood during the second world war ameliorated the



class aspects of politics significantly, and the precarious international position of the state in the post-war years enforced a continuation of cooperation, the class aspects of politics are by no means removed.

The conflict has been particularly evident on the national economic scene where a double struggle, on the one hand between the socialist-proletariat and the bourgeois-possessing classes over wages and costs and on the other hand between the proletariat and the agricultural producers (the Agrarian Party) over food prices and costs, has led first to inflation and then devaluation, as well as to uneconomic agricultural subsidies and controls and taxation inhibitive of free entrepreneurial development -- on a much wider scale than in the relatively class-free political structures of North America. Normal continuity in political government has also suffered as a result of these class-based conflicts: between 1945 and 1964 there were no fewer than 22 administrations, most changes being the result of intra-party economic conflicts rather than electoral choice (there were only six elections during the period).

b) Language and Culture

Although "cultural" and "nationality" differences have been used until recent times by both sides in their political struggles the argument in the main settled down





to a linguistic conflict almost at the beginning of the formation of the Finnish-Swedish party chasm. And certainly since the disbanding of the Young Finn party after the attainment of Independence (which time could be taken as the final realization of the Finnization of Finland -- the end of the main cultural struggle having been reached with the democratization of the franchise and parliament in 1905), cultural aspects of politics among Finnish-speaking and bilingual parties were of secondary importance and disappeared altogether by the end of the thirties. Within the Swedish party cultural matters -- as opposed to mainly linguistic matters -- continued to play a more important role up to the Second World War but have since been largely relegated to the custody of the unofficial Swedish pressure organization, the Folkting, the party concentrating mainly on the linguistic side and even that in a manner subsidiary to the more pressing problems of bourgeois economics.

The language struggles of the last century have, however, left a lasting heritage to partisan politics -- the unilingual parties and the bilingual parties. Of the former only one, the Swedish People's Party, a democratic expansion and reformation of the 19th century upper-class Swedish Party, today depends for its existence solely on a



linguistic identification, although most of the unilingual Finnish parties right up to the end of the thirties based at least some of their attraction on language. Within the bilingual parties, the Social Democratic Party and the SKDL (Communist Party), language has played no role, overtly at least, although, of course, the identification of the power élite with the Swedish language during the civil war for a time added considerably to the anti-Swedish sentiments of the working classes, although they were directed mainly at the bourgeoisie. It should also be noted that the Swedish People's Party, though bourgeois-oriented in general socio-economic matters, has continued to retain the support of the vast majority of the Swedo-Finns (80-90% of Swedo-Finn voters), though they are mainly rural dwellers (55.0% in 1960) and one third fall in the "workers" category (33.7% in 1960), and are thus presumably ready material for the Agrarian or the two left-wing parties. The reason for this uniformity is not hard to find: it depends on the strong sense of linguistic-cultural unity of the whole Swedo-Finn community -- a unity that "practical political", ideological, and class factors have not been able to dent significantly. Language and "culture" thus continue to play a major role in the partisan politics of at least one important segment of the population.



c) International Relations: Russia

Russia and Finland's relations with her is one of the problems that has played a central role throughout Finnish history and has coloured internal politics, to a greater or lesser degree, even before the beginnings of party politics. In partisan politics the problem has given rise twice during the past half century to sharp party differentiation. This happened first during the periods of Russification immediately following the turn of the century when the bourgeois-political élite, whose main aim was the cautious preservation of the precarious degree of independence that the autonomy of the Grand Duchy of Finland provided within the Russian empire, through continuation of the good-will policy that to a significant extent had maintained autonomy so far, united with the Finnish party, popularly known as the "Old Finn" party. In opposition to this "reactionarism" those among the educated élite whose main aim was the preservation of the indigenous institutions, that Russification and reactionarism threatened, united with the Young Finn party. The result was that a chasm of large proportions developed between the "Old Finn" party and all other parties. These differences, of particular importance insofar as a second and pronounced area of conflict was added to the linguistic





disunity among the bourgeois-élite, were not completely bridged until the civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat broke out after the Declaration of Independence.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the first partisan split caused by the "fact of Russia" was solved, the second, more lasting (to the present time in fact) partisan conflict over Russia arose. This time the bourgeoisie was not involved, but instead the hitherto relatively united and cohesive socialist-proletarian movement was riven into two highly antagonistic factions. What has added acrimony to the differences and kept them alive for so long is that this split was neither of an intellectual nor practical character (as was the earlier bourgeois conflict) but rather of an ideological-emotional nature: ideological because it pitted the revolutionary concepts of proletarian communism against the evolutionary "bourgeois-democratic" concepts of Social Democracy; and emotional because the communists and their radical confrères among the Social Democrats bore the main brunt of the bourgeois-government

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1. Between 1914, the date of the beginning of the last attempt at Russification, and the October Revolution in Russia, the differences began to gradually erode as the idea of independence through self-help ("constitutional revolution") gained ground among the bourgeois-political élite. See Part I of Study, Ch. on History, Section IV.1.



reprisals of the civil war, while the Social-Democrat "traitorous lapdogs of capitalism" condoned this from the sidelines. The Finnish Communist Party itself was not formed until 1919 (and then first in the Soviet Union by leaders who had escaped White and government reprisals). It was formally organized in Finland in 1920, then formally disbanded in 1923 (on grounds of revolutionary activity against the State), sprang up again under the guise of a front-organization, and was finally outlawed in 1930. It was not again legalized until 1944, when after 14 years of active underground existence the Soviet Union helped its re-establishment -- under more auspicious conditions than ever before.

It appears, however, that the differences between the Social Democrats and the Communists, however deep they may be on ideological and historic emotional grounds, are in the main dominated by their different attitudes toward the Soviet Union. The period from 1919 to 1944 was characterized in Finland by not only anti-revolutionary but also strong anti-Russian attitudes. In this atmosphere the only political party pursuing or even interested in establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union was the Communist Party. And this more than anything else cut it off completely from the general political partisan dialogue.



The post-war period, in contrast, has been dominated by an officially propagated, cautious neighbourliness toward the Soviet Union, and this general political attitude -- considered necessary as a result of the two unfortunate wars with the Soviets -- more than anything else is responsible for the popularity of the extreme left in post-war elections, that is, the votes for the SKDL are not only an expression of desire for social change but are in equal measure an expression for cooperation with the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this, however, the Communist Party<sup>2</sup> is still quite at odds with the general run of foreign policies of other Finnish parties; it is the only one that actively works for or even expresses a desire to join Finland to the Eastern bloc.<sup>3</sup>

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1. G. von Bonsdorff, De Politiska Partierna i Finland, p. 20.
  2. Officially the SKDL, Democratic League of the People of Finland, which is theoretically a grouping of left-wing radical organizations including the Communist Party; it is nevertheless Communist-dominated.
  3. The seeming contradiction of the inclusion of the SKDL in a cabinet, following the 1966 elections for the first time since 1948 is easily explained: the party in fact received 5 seats less than in the previous election in 1962, and it is included (1) for internal economic reasons and (2) for international (Russian) reasons.





#### d) Conclusions

On the basis of the above review, we see that all three of the main factors of political life in Finland not only have helped in forming the political configuration of a multi-party system but still dominate its form today. Economic and class differentiation determines a bourgeois-proletarian split as well as a bourgeois-agrarian split; language and culture have set up and continue to propagate a Finnish-Swedish linguistic differentiation; and finally the "Soviet fact" has formed an important element in the dichotomy of the socialist-proletarian movement and has weaned one part away from the general political cooperation and dialogue of the nation.

#### 2. The Parties: Secondary Differentiating Factors

Throughout the period of independence, and to some degree extending back even to the formation of the first unicameral Parliament in 1907, Finland has had in general six political parties, not counting the periodic cropping up of ephemeral and short-lived formations. At present these are, in the order of their ideological position on a right-left spectrum, the Conservative National Union Party, the centre-liberal-bourgeois Liberal Finnish People's



Party (formerly the Finnish People's party and before that, until 1951 the National Progressive Party), the centre-bourgeois Swedish People's Party, the centre-agriculturist Centre Party (formerly the Agrarian Party), the centre-left Social Democratic Party and the radical-left SKDL (Democratic League of the People of Finland).<sup>1</sup> Popular usage usually divides the parties into two ideological groups: the four right-of-centre and centre parties are known as "bourgeois" parties and the two left-of-centre parties as "socialist" parties. But even this division, though it is still the most significant ideological division that can meaningfully be made, is becoming progressively a gross oversimplification as the concentration on the centre continues. Most significant in this development is the progressive "bourgeoisisation" of the Social Democrats over the past 30 years, during which they have regularly been sharing in the administration of government and have progressively abandoned the more impractical ideological and philosophical bases of socialism. But while the "bourgeois" parties have also been moving closer to the

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1. In addition to the six main parties there are at present two minor parties, one on the radical left, the Social Democratic Opposition, and one in the centre, the Small Farmers' Party. In March 1966 these parties gained 7 and 1 seats in Parliament respectively. Reference to other minor "ephemeral" parties has been made in the Historical and Mass Media Chapters of this study; these parties do not merit a full discussion here.



centre, under the influence of the left and the need for cooperation, and have accepted such socialist policies and programmes as social welfare, wages legislation and agricultural subsidies, the radical left has stood quite firm in its connection to communist ideology, with the result that it has ideologically become more and more isolated from the mainstream of Finnish centrist politics.

In addition to the basic party differentiating factors discussed in the previous section, which by themselves are quite enough to maintain at least five different parties,<sup>1</sup> the ideological factor and three other factors -- political philosophy, tactics and interest groups -- act as secondary forces to reinforce the basic differentiations. Only in one case, in the differentiation between the Conservatives (National Union party) and the Liberals (Liberal People's party) do the secondary forces act as the main differentiations. Both parties are the successors of the 19th century Finnish Party which, though conservative in attitude, spawned the liberal Young Finn

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1. For example, (1) the class-factor differentiates the two socialist parties from the Conservative and Liberal Parties; (2) the Agrarians are in turn separated by class-economics (farmer base) from both, (3) the language factor separates the Swedish Party from all others; (4) and the Russian factor acts as the main chasm between the SKDL and all other parties, including the Social Democrats.





party. Today the two successor parties exist as separate entities almost solely because each attempts to carry on a philosophical tradition - conservatism or liberalism - that appeals to the upper and middle classes but which are both not only "unfashionable" in all of Scandinavia but are also unacceptable to the many non-middle-class voters.

Tactics as well have played a role in party differentiation, and these days party tactics, particularly in the formation of governments (which are as a rule three-party coalitions) have come to play an even more important role than in the past in determining electoral support. At the beginning of the period of Independence, there was a fixed triplex of tactical approaches, based on the political spectrum. The right wing, composed of the Conservatives and the Swedes, always strove for a "bourgeois" coalition; the centre, composed of the Liberals and Agrarians, strove for a cooperation among the bourgeois centre and the socialist centre by excluding both extreme wings of the spectrum; and finally the left, composed of the Social Democrats and Communists in general regarded all other groups with scepticism and mistrust. However, the fixed positions were soon abandoned by some parties: the first to attempt to take advantage of a change of tactics was the Swedish Party, which during the course of the twenties



changed itself into a tactically flexible centre-group, ready to cooperate either with the right or the Social Democrats on the left or with the centre. At the same time, the Social Democrats appeared to be moving toward the centre, which, however, did not bear fruit until in 1937-39 when the first centre-left coalition was finally formed. Since that time the centre-left cooperation necessitated both by the war and the international (Russian) relations of the post-war period, have forced all parties -- except for the SKDL -- tactically closer to the centre. But the thirties also saw the demise of right-wing politics as a tactical force, when the Lappo-movement and the fascistic IKL party brought disrepute by association to the whole conservative wing of the political spectrum. This, of course, could have been an additional reason for tactical centrism for the Conservatives, who, however, have instead elected to stay tactically separate from the general centrism and have since 1944 formed a tactical opposition to the government with only two exceptions when they took part in the administration.

The post-war period has been marked by two main tactical approaches: that of the SKDL (the radical left) who have attempted to cooperate with the Social Democrats (the centre-left) and the Swedish, Agrarian and Liberal



parties (the centre); and that of the Social Democrats who, in the period after the 1948 break-up of cooperation with the SKDL, have attempted to exclude the former from government and to bring about and maintain a strong centrist government. The Agrarians and the Swedes to some extent oscillated between the two major parties' tactics until the beginning of the fifties, when both accepted the Social Democratic tactics wholly, with the result that the former were excluded from only few administrations between 1950 and 1966 and the latter have participated in all but six governments of the 19 formed during the same period. That the centrist tactics of both the Swedes and Agrarians<sup>1</sup> have worked even better than that of the Social Democrats is evidenced by the fact that the latter participated in only 8 of the 19 administrations. The Liberals, devoid<sup>2</sup> of politically "liberal" ideas during the immediate post-war years, did not succeed in clearly separating their tactics from those of the Conservatives. They have, however, since broken away and joined the Agrarians and the Swedes as a tactical centrist party.

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1. Note that the Agrarian Party even renamed itself the Centre Party in 1966 - an indication not only of tactical centrism but also of a practical and philosophical desire to gain new footholds in the cities to counter the depopulation of its traditional area of support, the countryside.
  2. Witness, for example, the party's complete re-formation in 1951 and its change of name again in 1966.





A major change in tactics took place in March 1966, when the Social Democrats and the Agrarians -- the two major centrist parties -- decided to bury their 18-year feud with the SKDL and form a coalition government with the latter. The reasons for this action, insofar as they appear at the moment, are purely tactical, and not dependent on the electoral power of the latter party (which actually lost five seats in the March elections): it appears that the economy during the next year faces strong restrictive action on the part of the government and the Agrarians and Social Democrats do not want to face popular disapproval alone but want to bind at least one of the potential sources of complaint, the SKDL, in the decision-making. It also appears that certain international negotiations with Russia will have to be faced during the next year and the government wishes to reap all the benefits of Russian good-will towards the SKDL.

All other "bourgeois" parties, of course are still strenuously opposed to even tactical cooperation with the SKDL and have united in opposition to the government. This, then, is the first time since 1948 that the government has had only a "bourgeois" opposition, and a unified one at that.



As for the fourth secondary factor of party differentiation, that of interest groups, it affects all parties, but most significantly the three largest -- the Social Democrats, the SKDL, and the Agrarian -- and the Swedish party. The interest and pressure groups' influence on the Conservatives and Liberals is not of comparable significance. The main interest groups pressurizing the two socialist parties are undoubtedly the trade unions, through their central organizations, followed closely by the consumers' cooperative organizations. In contrast, the main pressure activity on the Agrarian party (now the Centre Party) is effected by the producers' cooperatives and other farmers' organizations. The Swedish party receives the strongest pressures from the Swedish Assembly, the Folkting, followed closely by the various Swedish voluntary associations, such as the producers' and consumers' cooperatives and the culturally oriented organizations.<sup>1</sup>

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1. For descriptions of these and other interest groups see chapter on Voluntary Associations.



### 3. The Parties: Linguistic Differentiation

#### a) Linguistic Comparisons

If we attempt a linguistic classification of the Finnish party system we discover a configuration at odds with the political -- namely, of the four centre and right-of-centre parties, three are unilingual Finnish and one is unilingual Swedish. Only the two centre and left-of-centre parties are bilingual.

To discover the reasons for this triadic language differentiation we must again go back to the period of party formation and reanalyse the political configuration of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As we have already indicated above, the closing decades of the last century saw two developments: on the one hand the splitting off of the more liberal (politically) and radical (linguistically) Young Fennoman wing from the Finnish Party which henceforth became known as the Old Finn Party while the new party was known as the Young Finn Party<sup>1</sup>; and on the other hand the linguistic and political dialogue between the two Finnish parties and the

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1. The latter was officially formed in 1894.





Swedish Party alienated both the farmers and the workers because because their problems were largely ignored and who consequently proceeded to form their own parties -- the Agrarian and the Social Democratic Parties.<sup>1</sup> The closing decades of the 19th century then saw the confining of the linguistic argument to the three upper and middle class parties -- the Old and the Young Finn and the Swedish parties, and the beginning of class-differentiated parties, on the basis of class and economic interests, in the Agrarian and Social Democratic parties.

The opening decade saw yet another change when the Swedish party leaders realized that the representational and parliamentary reforms doomed the party to extinction unless it managed to enlist the support of the entire Swedo-Finn community. Accordingly the party formally divested itself of the upper class mantle and became a popular party, renamed the Swedish People's Party. The carrying on of the Swedish linguistic struggle thus fell to the lot of the new popular party against the two nineteenth century remnants of the Finnish linguistic struggle, the two "Finn" parties -- both exclusively upper and middle

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1. The Agrarian Party was officially founded in 1908; the Workers' Party was founded in 1899 and changed its name to the Social Democratic Party in 1904.



class and both about to disappear and be reconstituted in modern dress within a decade. The Agrarian and Social Democratic Parties were still more concerned with their own economic and social status than with language, and in any case the first two decades of the century presented problems of Russification, revolution, and bureaucratic control of the upper class parties.

The result of the political developments up to the twenties was, then, that the Swedish People's Party, by becoming a popular linguistic-nationalist party encompassing all the social classes yet dominated by middle-class concepts, pre-empted Swedish support from other parties, a support from which the two "Finn" parties, recast as the Conservative and Liberal Parties after Independence, were in any case precluded by their linguistic Fennoman policies. The Agrarians, of course, could have competed for Swedo-Finn support, but since the weight of their support came from the unilingual Finnish rural areas which became even more emotional over Finnization during the twenties than the older Finn parties had ever been, the party of course alienated the Swedish-speaking element.

Thus the linguistic lines of the political centre and right were finally drawn by the twenties: the Conservative and Liberal parties on the right remained



(and remain today) unilingual Finnish, the Swedish party became the "popular" right-centre unilingual Swedish People's Party, and the Agrarians became a confirmed unilingual Finnish party in the centre as a result of the Rabies Fennica of the twenties.

The developments to the left-of-centre are simple by comparison. Consider three points: first, the creed of socialism is international in character; second, the history of socialism was one of quarrels with the upper classes and not with the Swedo-Finns as such; and third, certain Swedish-speaking socialists, such as K.A. Fagerholm, were anxious to extend socialism to all parts of the country including the Swedo-Finn areas. The result was that the Social Democratic Party in the twenties set up an organizationally separate Swedish division in the main party and made the party officially bilingual with proportional representation of the Swedish wing in all, including the highest, party organs. Incidentally, it was also this "internationalism" of socialism that prompted the Social Democrats to support Swedish-language demands during the twenties, and that brought the Swedish People's Party tactically closer to the centre earlier than the other right of centre parties.





Regarding the other left-wing party, the Communists and the SKDL, the language question only came up with the formation of the SKDL in 1944, although, of course, the remarks made above concerning the internationalism of socialism and their desire for wide support apply equally even earlier. The bilingualism of the SKDL follows the same organizational pattern (with minor deviations) as that of the Social Democrats.

It should further be pointed out that although both parties promote bilingualism to the fullest (even the parties' names are officially bilingual) the degree of support that they receive from Swedo-Finns is relatively insignificant,<sup>1</sup> although, of course, the post-war years have added a certain amount to their popularity among Swedo-Finns as among all Finns. The increase in this popularity among the former, however, is insignificant when compared to the increase in popularity among Finnish-speakers.

b) The Swedish People's Party

The history of the predecessor of the Swedish People's Party (Svenska Folkpartiet), the Swedish Party, has no fixed beginning, and the date 1861 usually given

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1. For figures showing Swedish-speakers sitting in Parliament for the two parties see chapter in this study on Constitutional Problems, Table II.



indicates but the beginning of the modern political period in Finnish history, for in that year the representative organ -- the Diet of Four Estates -- was reconvened for the first time since 1808-09 and provided the main forum for political activity until its place was taken by the single chamber Parliament in 1907.<sup>1</sup> The battle-lines were drawn soon after 1861 in the Diet on the basis of support for introduction of the Finnish language into "official" life -- i.e., schools, administration, the church, etc. -- and over the introduction of reformist "liberal" legislation. The lines that formed were thus between the upholders of the status quo and the "liberals". Since, the majority of the supporters of the status quo were members of the upper and middle classes, whose main language was Swedish, a rudimentary distinction between "Swede" and "Finn" soon appeared. The distinction was not, however much popular usage decreed, one based on a differentiation of ethnic background, nor was it of an organized partisan type. Indeed much of the leadership given to the Fennoman movement came from the ranks of Swedish-speakers. Furthermore, the "Finnish" and "Swedish" differentiation was mainly one of class-status: the House

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1. The Reform Law was passed in 1905 but the new Parliament did not begin life until after the elections of 1907.



of Peasants was almost wholly Finnish, and the House of Clergy was Finnish-dominated, whereas the House of Burghers was Swedish-dominated and the House of Nobility was almost wholly Swedish.

The first formally organized party did not appear until 1880 when the so-called Liberal Party, composed of the liberal elements among both Swedish and Finnish-speakers, was organized. The main objective of the party was the political bridging of the increasingly sharpening conflict between the Swedish-speaking status quo group, who at the same time formed the bureaucratic élite of the country, and the equally stubborn radical Fennomen, by attempting to establish a non-linguistic, pan-Finlandic nationalism composed of two equal language groups. Needless to say the well-intentioned attempt was quickly ground to naught between the antagonists and the party disappeared before the end of the decade. However, its work had not been completely useless, for most of the liberals returned to the Swedish-speaking fold where they made their influence felt, with the result that the Swedish Party formalized its organization and programme, and the latter bore strong marks of the late Liberal Party's programme. But the eighties also saw the growth of the first Swedo-Finn





nationalistic movement at the University of Helsinki and its spread among the Swedo-Finn élite, thus to some extent setting up a rival group within the Swedish Party.<sup>1</sup> The latter influences, however, did not become dominant among the élite, who preferred the fashionable liberal-cum-status-quo concepts of the ruling classes, and Swedo-Finn nationalism made almost no inroads among the Swedish-speaking masses, who were in fact even more isolated from politics than were the Finnish masses. Certainly attempts were made during the nineties by astute Swedo-Finn leaders to arouse the party to the realization that its days were numbered if it were to continue in its present form, and that its only salvation lay in enlisting the support of the whole of the Swedo-Finn population. The party, however, refused to make the necessary efforts and change. It was thus not until 1906, the year before the elections based on the universal franchise, that Axel Lille finally persuaded the party to change into a popular classless party with a linguistic-nationalistic programme designed to attract the widest possible support among Swedo-Finns.<sup>2</sup>

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1. For a more detailed discussion of party developments during the 19th century see this study, chapter on History, Section II, A and B.
  2. Cf. W.E. Nordström, Fyrtio År Svensk Politik i Finland, pp. 7-19, for a brief discussion of the policy debates.



The successful reorganization of the party was but merely the first round in the struggle for political survival, and the party was to continue for the next thirty years to stagger from crisis to crisis. And though the relative stabilization of the political atmosphere in Finland since the end of the war has helped, the party nevertheless has faced new and insidious drains of support through Finnization, through the normalization of friendly relations between Finn and Swede, as well as through the national political swing to the left, which the party cannot wholly accommodate. The reason for this and for the internal crisis of the past is, of course, that the Swedish People's Party is the only composite of various classes in Finland and is thus forced to compromise on philosophy as well as on practical matters. In contrast, all other parties are "class" parties with defined limits of philosophy, holding the supporters faithful, while the only unifying force in the Swedish People's Party is the ideology of language. While the party may fear little from the parties of the right -- which have in any case been steadily losing support as a result of the "democratization" of politics and "socialization" of Finnish life -- the two parties of the left have already accommodated a number of Swedo-Finns whose political views find the compromise position of the SFP



unacceptable. The present parliamentary position of the party -- showing the smallest number of seats, 12, that it has ever held<sup>1</sup> -- may very well portend an even greater drain of support in the future, if the two enemies of the party, the continuing swing to the left and the "Finnization by friendly relations" are not somehow stopped. Indeed, the two left-wing parties appear to guarantee both the philosophical clarity that the SFP cannot provide and the ideological Swedo-Finn separate identification, that so far has been the sole force unifying the diversified supporting structure of the SFP.

The internal difficulties that the party suffered from during the thirty year period succeeding its formation were nevertheless of a different character. Since they were internal the party could at least control them, whereas the post-war problems are more and more outside the grasp of party control. The party's first problem was of this character, namely "socialist-democratic-egalitarian" concepts were on the rise, among other reasons as a result of the current political reforms, and these were strenuously opposed by the "reactionary" status-quo-minded élite.

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1. See Table I for comparisons of party positions in Parliament in election years 1919-1966.





The solution as it was worked out became almost a classical example of compromise to be followed by the party in the future: while the nationalist-linguistic policies of Swedo-Finn unity and the name Swedish People's Party were accepted as necessary to gain popular support among the rank and file Swedo-Finns, the élite refused to "liberalize" its bourgeois economic policies. Similarly the monarchist-republican crisis of the Independence year and the crisis over cooperation with Finnish socialist and/or bourgeois parties during the early twenties, were settled by compromises, the first between the "conservatives" and "liberals" in the party and the second between the "Swecomen" whose objective was to set up a "Yellowstone Park"<sup>1</sup> type of Swedish enclave in Finland, and those who harking back to the 19th century Swedish Party's pan-Finlandic patriotism saw the main duty of all political parties as being the building up and assisting the governing of the state before any other partisan, cultural or class objectives. Though the solution to the former crisis leaned preponderantly toward the "conservatives" and the latter solution toward the "political realists", it is

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1. As their opponents pejoratively referred to these attitudes.



significant that both solutions took serious cognizance of the political temper of the times. In 1917-18 only monarchism seemed to provide the necessary stability to the political class-philosophy flux of Finnish politics and in 1924 only cooperation in the government with the other bourgeois parties saved the party from being branded as a collection of unreasonable separatists and permitted the party to consolidate and extend the gains made in language legislation.

Similar remarks of compromise between various factions and interest groups in the party can be multiplied severalfold in an analysis of the party's history up to the Winter War. In all, however, the hallmark distinguishing the internal compromises is the statesmanlike realism of acceptance of prevailing trends and conditions. And it is this same habit of realism that has helped immeasurably in keeping the party viable in the difficult post-war period. As socialism in its various manifestations made inroads in public acceptance in Finland, so the Swedish People's Party adapted itself to these conditions. This does not of course mean that the party has often been in the forefront of political innovation -- its composite structure prevents that -- but at least it has shown the kind of flexibility which has saved it from the fate of the Conservative and



Liberal parties -- the former isolated on the right as a party of reactionary idealists not suited to govern,<sup>1</sup> and the latter as a collection of hangers-on of a mixture of bourgeois-socialist ideas without distinct policies of its own, without clear popular support.<sup>2</sup>

The indicated realism of compromise of the SFP may however be coming to an end as the results of the March 1966 elections may indicate. Although it is too early<sup>3</sup> to draw meaningful conclusions from the drastic drop of two in the Parliamentary representation of the party, certain speculative remarks may clarify the position of the party and possibly help to indicate future developments.

The most important factor in Finnish politics in the post-war years has undoubtedly been the precarious international position of the state, which has brought about the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line of careful observation of legal and political neutrality while seeking cooperation

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1. Although the Conservative party has managed to retain between 24 and 33 seats between 1945 and 1966 it has been invited to join in government only once. Compare this with the SFP - 11 times out of 19.
  2. By 1948 the party's representation had decreased to 5. Following the reconstitution of 1951 it doubled to 10 but decreased again to 8 after the change of name in 1966.
  3. This is written in early July 1966, only two weeks after the new coalition government was announced.





with the Soviet Union. This policy has in turn led to raising the popular stock of the SKDL which in turn has brought about a wider awareness and a greater acceptance of socialist ideas that have directly benefited both the SDKL and the Social Democrats. Because of these dominant public influences, the other parties as well have had to pay attention to socialism, and all, except for the Conservatives, have chosen to do so. The Liberals have attempted to follow both a mild form of socialism and bourgeois liberalism but have been unsuccessful since on both tacks their ideas are preempted by more viable and stronger parties. That the Agrarians have gone far in the direction is indicated by their years of cooperation in government with the Socialists from 1939 on, when with the exception of five governments out of 21 they took part in a Socialist Coalition cabinet. Throughout the Agrarians have, however, retained their farmer-backing. That the latter is being undermined by socialism of the purer kind is indicated by the desire of the Agrarian Party to gain urban support and its consequent change of name, to Centre Party.

The Swedish People's Party is as vulnerable as the Liberal Party in this socialist trend, since it has neither the philosophical isolationism of the Conservatives,



nor the class-interest backing of the Agrarians. Furthermore, on grounds of realism it can neither withdraw into isolationism -- which would alienate the vast majority of its city voters -- nor can it go further left for there it would become merely a second Swedish-speaking adjunct to the Swedish section of the Social Democratic Party, and in any case such a move would lose the party its bourgeois and rural support. In the meantime, however, the exodus of Swedo-Finn rural youth to industrialization and their almost certain conversion to socialism is as great as that among Finnish-speaking rural youth. The party is then faced with a dilemma, and the results of the 1966 election appear to indicate that unless this dilemma is soon resolved the party will irredeemably lose a large part of its support. What makes the continued loss to socialism almost predictably certain is that the socialist trend combines perfectly with the growing Finnization involved in urbanization and the continuation of friendly relations between the two language groups.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Three additional areas of party activity could with profit be discussed: organization, comparative electoral results and publicity. Since, however, the first is so similar to the pyramidal structure of the Ontario parties, the second is adequately depicted in Table I and the third receives extended treatment in the chapter in this study on Mass Media, it is thought better not to lengthen this chapter beyond this point.



TABLE I  
Parliamentary Representation 1919 - 1966, by Seats Won

Election Year	Agrarian Party (Centre Party) <sup>1</sup>	SKDL Democratic League of the People of Finland <sup>2</sup> (Communist)	Communist Party	Social Democratic Party	National Coalition Party (Conservative)	SFP Swedish People's Party	Finnish People's Party (Liberal) <sup>4</sup>	National Progressive Party (Liberal)	Social Democratic League (Soc.Dem.) <sup>5</sup> Opposition)	Others
1919	42	-	-	80	28	22	-	26	-	2
1922	45	-	27	53	35	25	-	15	-	-
1924	44	-	18	60	38	23	-	17	-	-
1927	52	-	20	60	34	24	-	10	-	-
1929	60	-	23	59	28	23	-	7	-	-
1930	59	-	-	66	42	20	-	11	-	2
1933	53	-	-	78	18	21	-	11	-	19
1936	53	-	-	83	20	21	-	7	-	16
1939	56	-	-	85	25	18	-	6	-	10
1945	49	49	-	50	28	14	-	9	-	1
1948	56	38	-	54	33	14	-	5	-	-
1951	51	43	-	53	28	15	10	-	-	-
1954	53	43	-	54	24	13	13	-	-	-
1958	48	50	-	48	29	14	8	-	3	-
1962	53	47	-	38	32	14	13	-	2	1
1966	49	42	-	56	25	12	8	-	7	1

1. The Agrarian Party in the 1966 election called itself the Centre Party.

2. The SKDL was formed in 1945 from the resurrected Communist Party and a number of radical left organizations; it is not "officially" communist but it is Communist dominated.

3. The Communist Party was outlawed in 1929.

4. The Finnish People's Party was formed in 1951 from the remnants of the National Progressive Party as a liberal middle class party. In 1966 it was renamed the Liberal People's Party.

5. The Social Democratic Opposition, officially the Social Democratic League, was formed in 1958 when a number of left-radicals broke with the Social Democratic Party.

Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1962, Table 372, Various Finnish newspaper reports in March 1966.







## II VOTING BEHAVIOUR IN FINLAND

### 1. A General Social and Political Overview

In his masterful sociological study of voter behaviour in Finland between 1945 and 1954, Social Struktur och Politisk Aktivitet (Social Structure and Political Activity), Erik Allardt points to three accepted groups of factors generally taken into consideration in studies of voting behaviour. Group one consists of factors concerning the franchise and the method of voting; group two consists of so-called politically sensitive factors such as foreign affairs, internal political conflicts and political personalities; and group three consists of so-called non-political sociological factors, such as social class, religion, education, and values and norms.



TABLE II

Voting in General Elections, 1907 - 1962

Year	Total Number Voting	Percentage voting of total entitled to vote
1907	899,347	70.7
1908	817,567	64.4
1909	852,683	65.3
1910	796,569	60.1
1911	807,094	59.8
1913	730,649	51.1
1916	800,934	55.5
1917	997,665	69.2
1919	965,872	67.1
1922	870,825	58.5
1924	883,825	57.4
1927	914,371	55.8
1929	956,296	55.6
1930	1,135,545	65.9
1933	1,112,740	62.2
1936	1,178,412	62.9
1939	1,302,348	66.6
1945	1,710,251	74.9
1948	1,893,837	78.2
1951	1,825,779	74.6
1954	2,019,042	79.9
1958	1,954,397	75.0
1962	2,310,090	85.1

Source: Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 371.



TABLE III

The Parties Share in the Total of Votes Cast, 1907 - 1958

Year of Election	Finnish Party (Cons.)	National Union (Cons.)	Young Finnish Party (Lib.)	Progressive Party (Lib.)	Finnish People's Party (Lib.)	Swedish People's Party	Swedish Left	Agrarian Party	Social Democratic Party	Social Democratic Opp.	SKDL	IKL	Com. Party	Others	Total %
1907	27.3	---	13.6			12.6		5.8	37.0					3.7	100
1908	25.4	---	14.2			12.8		6.4	38.4					2.8	100
1909	23.6	---	14.5			12.3		6.7	39.9					3.0	100
1910	22.1	---	14.4			13.5		7.6	40.0					2.4	100
1911	21.7	---	14.9			13.3		7.8	40.0					2.3	100
1913	19.9	---	14.1			13.3		7.8	43.1					2.0	100
1916	17.6	---	12.4			11.8		9.0	47.3					1.9	100
1917		30.1				10.9		12.4	44.8					1.8	100
1919		15.7		12.8		12.1		19.7	38.0				14.8	1.7	100
1922		18.1		9.2		12.4		20.3	25.1				10.4	0.1	100
1924		19.0		9.1		12.0		20.3	29.0					0.2	100
1927		17.7		6.8		12.2		22.5	28.3				12.1	0.4	100
1929		14.5		5.6		11.4		26.1	27.4				13.5	1.5	100
1930		18.1		5.8		10.0	0.8	27.3	34.2				1.0	2.8	100
1933		16.9		7.4		10.4		22.6	37.3					5.4	100
1936		10.4		6.3		11.2		22.4	38.6			8.3		2.8	100
1939		13.6		4.8		9.6	0.5	22.9	39.8			6.6		2.2	100
1945		15.0		5.2		7.9	0.5	21.3	25.1		23.5			1.5	100
1948		17.1		3.9		7.7		24.2	26.3		20.0			0.8	100
1951		14.6			5.7	7.6		23.2	26.5		21.6			0.8	100
1954		12.8			7.9	7.0		24.1	26.2	1.7	21.6			0.4	100
1958		15.3			5.9	6.7		23.1	23.2		23.2			0.9	100





a) The Franchise and the Method of Voting

In this section we shall concentrate on the first of Allardt's factors, namely the effects of the Finnish franchise on voting. References to the political forces that have influenced voting behaviour may be found in Part I of this chapter. Allardt's conclusions as to the relative importance of the various sociological variables that he takes into consideration are summarized in Appendix C.

Since our interest is limited to the period following the establishment of the single-chamber Parliament in 1905 we are concerned only with the period when the full adult franchise has been in effect. During this period, the only change in the franchise was the lowering of the universal age of voting from 24 to 21 in 1944. No directly relevant results can be observed from this change, on the basis of general voting statistics (Tables I, II and III) for the very simple reason that the 1945 election - the first in six years - followed an extremely confusing war period and fell right at the beginning of another economically, politically and internationally trying period of flux.



In any case the voting participation of the 21 - 25 age group is lower than that of other age groups.<sup>1</sup>

As for the influence of the method of voting -- the d'Hondt system of proportional representation -- again Finland has known no other system since 1907, the year of the first elections held for the reconstituted Parliament, under universal franchise. Though the effect of the introduction can thus only be gauged on circumstantial evidence, it is nevertheless indicated by experience elsewhere that proportional representation is directly responsible for significantly increasing voter participation in elections. In Switzerland, for example, the change from majority-voting to proportional representation increased the number exercising their ballot from 60% to 80%.<sup>2</sup> Table II showing total voter participation in elections between 1907 and 1962 appears to bear this out, for as a rule voter participation in Finland has been high, and particularly and consistently so since 1945.<sup>3</sup> The reason for this is, of

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1. In the 1951 election a sample of voters in Helsinki -- a representative voting area -- showed that only 70.1% of all men and 59.4% of all women between 21 - 25 voted. All other age groups showed significantly higher proportions.
  2. Allardt, op. cit., p. 9, citing H. Tingsten, Political Behaviour, p. 219.
  3. In 1966 it was 80.5%.



course, that proportional representation permits a greater choice to be exercised at the polls, and while the cross-pressures entailed in multi-party systems -- which proportional representation fosters because the multi-seat constituencies afford electoral victory to several parties; -- in certain cases produce indecision among a minority of voters, proportional representation nevertheless appears to heighten awareness of and interest in politics with the general result that the franchise tends to be exercised more frequently than in majority-voting systems.

Proportional representation also tends to favour both small parties and regional parties, since wastage of votes is virtually eliminated. Thus, a party merely needs to gain the minimum district quota of votes in order to get candidates elected.<sup>1</sup> As Appendix A shows, smaller parties thus have a far better chance of representation according to the proportion of electoral support given under this system than under a single member district, system where majority candidates only are elected. For the smaller parties, such as the Conservatives and the Liberals, the system has been an

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1. For a hypothetical example of Proportional Representation as practiced in Finland, see Appendix A.





important factor in keeping them represented in Parliament. For the Swedish People's Party -- an area party in the truest sense<sup>1</sup> -- whose supporters are scattered over wide areas of the four proportional representation districts from which it elects all but one of its Members of Parliament, the system has been of major importance in keeping it a viable party. In 1958, for example, its electoral support in the five<sup>2</sup> proportional representation districts reached only 15.9%, 21.9%, 7.0%, 26.8% and 28.4% of the total of votes cast in Helsinki, Uusimaa, Turku South, Vaasa South and Vaasa North, respectively. In 1966 its electoral support reached only 14.4%, 19.8%, 6.7% and 21.8% respectively of the total of votes cast in Helsinki, Uusimaa, Turku South, and Vaasa.<sup>3</sup> This support enabled the election of 3, 3, 2 and 5 Members of Parliament respectively in the four districts.

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1. It is represented only in 4 proportional representation districts and the Åland Single-member District. See Appendix B.
  2. In 1958 Vaasa was still divided into 2 districts, Vaasa North and Vaasa South.
  3. In 1962 Vaasa North and South were united into one proportional representation district.



Had the four districts been respectively divided into 21, 18, 16 and 20 single-member districts the party certainly would not have elected as many Members. Indeed the scattered settlement of the party's supporters within at least two of these areas -- Helsinki and Turku South -- would probably have meant that the party could not have elected even a single member from these areas.

## 2. Voting and the Swedish-speaking Minority

The one factor of paramount significance in determining Swedo-Finn voting behaviour is of course the dualism of cultural minority and party, so that the latter - the Swedish People's Party -- by and large becomes the political expression of the aspirations and fears of the minority fact. Simply because of this situation, it could be said, the voting pattern of Swedish-speakers is consistent and the voting frequency high. There are, however, a number of other factors that help to determine both the pattern and the frequency of voting. One of these appears to be the language differentiation factor which keeps Swedo-Finns in rural areas intact from wide-scale political cross pressures; a second appears to be the fact that the Swedish People's Party represents such a wide scale of ideologies



and philosophies ranging all the way from conservatism to radical liberalism; and a third factor appears to be the fact that of all the parties, only the two left-wing ones are at all interested in competing with the SFP for support among Swedish speakers.

The pattern that emerges shows a consistent support for the Swedish People's Party centered particularly on rural communes with a very high concentration of Swedo-Finns. The result in voting frequency is that the Swedish-speaking population has a considerably higher participation rate, both on an over-all scale as well as on an age group scale, and among both sexes, than the Finnish population. One study even shows that Swedish-speaking women in all age groups have a higher voting frequency than Finnish men. In over-all proportions, with the effects of age eliminated, the election of 1951 showed the following results in Helsinki: Finnish men 78.4%, Swedish men 83.9%, Finnish women 73.7%, Swedish women 82.5% participation.<sup>1</sup>

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1. E. Allardt and K. Brown, op. cit., p. 69.





Erik Allardt and Kettel Brown explain the differences in voting behaviour between the Finnish and Swedish-speaking populations in the following manner:

If we correlate the voting participation of the Swedish-speaking and the Finnish-speaking in the different districts, the rank order correlation is  $-0.09 \pm 20$ . This indicates that the Swedish and the Finnish-speaking populations are to a large extent politically isolated from each other, and that the factors that influence voting are altogether different in these two language groups. Since there are proportionally more people in the upper and middle classes among Swedes than among the Finns, one might wonder whether the higher voting participation in the Swedish group is due to the fact that upper and middle class individuals cast a higher vote than others. This, however, does not seem to explain the differences between the two language groups. There are class differences between the different districts, some might be regarded as populated mainly by manual workers and others by white-collar people. Thus even in districts where the Finnish and the Swedish-speaking of the same class live side by side their voting behaviour seems to be quite independent.

Swedish-speaking neighbours form a factor showing a positive correlation with a high voting frequency among the Swedes. The rank order correlation between the proportion of Swedes of all those entitled to vote and the voting participation is  $0.58 \pm 0.14$  ( $t=4.1$ ;  $P<0.01$ ). Swedish-speaking people who live in districts with few other Swedes tend to cast a lower vote than those Swedish-speaking people who live in districts in which there are many other persons from the same language group. One can assume that the latter category is, because of its personal contacts, far better protected against cross-pressures.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Allardt & Brown, op. cit., p. 70. Note that this analysis is based only on a cross-pressure hypothesis and thus may be considered one-sided and prejudiced from the point of view of other methods. The same method of analysis is carried further by Allardt in his 1956 study Social Struktur Och Politisk Aktivitet, where the conclusions drawn in the above excerpt are further substantiated and extended. See pp. 33-40.



### 3. Voting Behaviour: Summary

In drawing general conclusions of voting behaviour in Finland one discovers that the same factors that determine partisan differentiation of the political parties also to a very large extent determine the degree of voter participation in elections and the pattern of voter support of parties. In both cases the most important factors are the admixture of the class-economics-education factors and the linguistic-cultural factor.<sup>1</sup> These are then closely followed by political-ideological factors, which in turn, however, depend on a "class" partisan identification. Finally, of course, the purely political factors, such as the Russian "fact", internal political unrest or national economic difficulties, play the most important role in the constant fluctuation of political support. One could perhaps even say that whereas the primarily social factors fix the "permanent" degree of support of the parties, the political factors cause the constant fluctuation of the partisan allegiance of the "floating" vote. Table III appears to support this suggestion: a review of the percentage of votes given parties during their life-time between 1907 and 1958 shows that the viable parties always managed to keep a

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1. Compare Appendix C.



fixed minimum percentage of votes. In each case the explanation lies in one or a combination of the "fixed" social factors, or the lack thereof.<sup>1</sup> Table I shows, however, that all these parties -- even those whose support has weakened for one or another reason -- continued to be represented in Parliament as long as they remained in existence and took part in the active political dialogue. Credit for this goes entirely to the proportional representation system. Hence proportional representation--one of the most "fixed" factors, or "rules of the game" -- has also been responsible in influencing the development of the multi-party system and the sub-systems of popular support and voter behaviour.

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1. E.g., Agrarian Party, class economic; Social Democratic and SKDL (the two parties split the socialist class vote from 1945 on; there was also an earlier split with the communist part, 1922-29), class ideological and economic; the Swedish People's Party, linguistic cultural; the Conservative party, class identity but lack of ideological fixity of purpose; the Liberal party, lack of fixed class support and lack of ideological fixity of purpose.





## APPENDIX A

The d'Hondt System of Proportional Representation  
as Practised in Finland

The following hypothetical example will illustrate the procedure applied in the counting of votes and distribution of seats in Finnish elections.

For the sake of simplicity we shall limit the number of seats in the example to the bare minimum in which the system can be used, that is, to five, although in reality no constituency in Finland for some time has had that few seats.<sup>1</sup> Also for simplicity's sake let us assume that only three parties are involved in the election, although in reality this has never been the case since Finland introduced the "PR" system in 1905. We then have three parties (A, B, and C) putting up five candidates each (one for each of the five seats) for a total of 15 candidates. In the hypothetical election let us suppose that the results were as follow:

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1. See Appendix B for Electoral Districts and seat distribution. Note that the district of Åland is a Single Member Constituency and "PR" does not apply.



Candidates*	Parties		
	A	B	C
1	5500	8000	4500
2	4000	1500	2000
3	1000	900	1200
4	800	600	700
5	300	500	400

\* listed in order of votes received for simplicity's sake.

To determine the allocation of seats to the different parties as a result of the ballots cast, first the votes cast for the slate of candidates for each party are added up. The results in this case are: Party A, 11,300 votes, Party B, 11,800; and Party C, 8,800 votes.

Next the so-called "figure of comparison" for each individual candidate has to be established. This is done in the following manner: the most successful candidate in each party will be given the total of votes cast for that party; the next successful candidates will receive half that number, the following one third, one quarter, one fifth and so on up to the number of seats contested, as their respective figures of comparison. In our hypothetical example this works out as follows:



Candidates in order of votes received	PARTIES		
	A	B	C
1	11,300	11,800	8,800
2	$\frac{11,300=5650}{2}$	$\frac{11,800=5900}{2}$	$\frac{8,800=4,400}{2}$
3	$\frac{11,300=3766}{3}$	$\frac{11,800=3933}{3}$	$\frac{8,800=2,933}{3}$
4	$\frac{11,300=2825}{4}$	$\frac{11,800=2950}{4}$	$\frac{8,800=2,200}{4}$
5	$\frac{11,300=2260}{5}$	$\frac{11,800=2360}{5}$	$\frac{8,800=1,760}{5}$

The five candidates who have the highest figure of comparison are then elected. In our example these are: B1, A1, C1, B2, and A2. Party A thus gets two seats, Party B two seats and Party C one seat. It will be noted that candidate C2 had more individual votes than candidate B2 but the latter was returned due to the large number of votes for the leading candidate of his party, whereas candidate C2 failed owing to general lack of support for Party C.





The mandates are thus decided both on the basis of party support and votes received by individual candidates. The system thus allows representation of small parties but does not allow these unduly large representation.



## APPENDIX B

Electoral Districts in Finland

The country is divided into 15 electoral districts by Act of Parliament<sup>1</sup> and the Government confirms the number of members to be elected from each district on the basis of the latest census.<sup>2</sup> In 1966 the districts and the number of seats in each district were as follows:

District	Seats	Change from 1962
City of Helsinki	21	+1
Uusimaa	18	+1
Turku South	16	
Turku North	13	-1
Häme South	14	
Häme North	12	
Kymi	15	
Mikkeli	10	-1
Kuopio	12	
Karelia North	9	-1
Vaasa	20	
Central Finland	11	
Oulu	18	
Lapland	10	+1
Åland	1	
Totals 15	200	

1. In 1958 there were 16 electoral districts, with Vaasa divided into two parts -- North and South.
2. The change is made before every election and the census figures used are the latest annual figures -- not necessarily the decennial figures.



All of the six "major" parties with the exception of the Swedish People's Party receive at least some electoral support from all 14 multi-member districts. The Åland single-member district supports only the Swedish People's Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the SKDL.

The Swedish People's Party receives support from only 4 of the "PR" districts: Helsinki, Uusimaa, Turku South and Vaasa.





## APPENDIX C

The following is a translated compilation of conclusions to Erik Allardt, Social Struktur och Politisk Aktivitet, on pages 140-141.

Factors in the social structure which tend to produce high and low participation in the elections.

A.	B.
High (or Higher) Participation	Low (or Lower) Participation
1. Communes with a strongly dominating party.	1. Communes where several strong parties compete.
2. Communes where the SKDL (Communists) has a high number of voters.	2. Communes where the Social Democrats have a high number of voters.
3. Communes where the SKDL has a higher number of votes than the Social Democrats.	3. Communes where the Social Democrats and the SKDL have equal voter support.
4. Communes with strong political traditions.	4. Communes with weak political traditions (communes which alternate in giving majority support to the bourgeois parties and the socialist parties).
5. The Swedish-speaking population.	5. The Finnish-speaking population.
6. The Swedish population in areas where the proportion of Swedes is high.	6. The Swedish population in areas where the proportion of Swedes is low.



## A.

High (or Higher)  
Participation

## B.

Low (or Lower)  
Participation

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 7. Communes with a Swedish majority where the Swedish People's Party is in a dominant position.               | 7. Communes with a Swedish majority where the socialist parties compete actively with the S.P.P. |
| 8. Agricultural communes.   | 8. Forestry and lumbering communes.  |
| 9. Agricultural communes where the farms are fairly equal in size.  | 9. Agricultural communes where the size of farms varies.   |
| 10. Rural communes with a small percentage of "workers".  | 10. Rural communes with a large percentage of "workers".   |
| 11. Areas where traditionally social stratification has been weak or non-existent.                            | 11. Areas where social stratification is sharp.  |
| 12. Rural communes where the Agrarian Party dominates (except for Swedish rural communes).                    | 12. Rural communes where other parties effectively compete with the Agrarians.                   |
| 13. Towns and cities which either are highly industrialized or have a very small degree of industrialization. | 13. Towns and cities which have an "average" degree of industrialization.                        |
| 14. Rural communes where the political and religious movements are not in conflict positions.                 | 14. Rural communes where the political and religious movements are in conflict positions.        |
| 15. Men.  | 15. Women.   |
| 16. The Upper and Middle Class.   | 16. Workers, sales and clerical personnel.   |



17. Workers in Helsinki who live in areas with a high concentration of workers.

and

Educated classes who live in areas with a high concentration of their fellows.

18. Workers in Helsinki who live in areas where left-wing parties have a high degree of support..

and

Educated classes in areas where the left-wing parties have a low degree of support.

19. Native-born in Helsinki.

20. Individuals who belong to the same social classes as their fathers.

17. Workers in Helsinki who live in areas where the proportion of workers is low.

and

Educated classes who live in areas where the proportion of their fellows is low.

18. Workers in Helsinki who live in areas where left-wing parties receive little support.

and

Educated classes who live in areas where left-wing parties receive a high degree of support.

19. Migrants to Helsinki.

20. Individuals who have risen or fallen on the social scale.





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